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PANDIT D. SAVARIROYAN

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DRAVIDIAN KINGDOMS

T. M. RENGACHARIYAR & T. DESIKACHARIYAR

CONQUEST OF BENGAL AND BURMA BY THE TAMILS

SERPENT WORSHIP IN INDIA

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V. KANAKASABHAI • J. A. SALDANHA

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DRAVIDIAN KINGDOMS.

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PART I.

In ancient times the extreme south of India from the modern Tirupati to Cape Comorin was split up into various small divisions, each under a petty chieftain but all acknowledging the suzerainty of one or other of the three great Dravidian Powers known to tradition as the Mūvarasar (lit. three Kings.). Predominant among these was the Pāṇḍiya whose borders fluctuated with the martial powers of the ruling prince for the time being, but were, under normal conditions, pretty much as a Tamiḻ Poetess set them down in verses which bear the following translation. "South of the river Veḷḷār, Comorin on the south, the ocean loved of the wild seagull on the east, with the great plain on the west." The tract of country comprised within these boundaries corresponds to the present Madura and Tinnevelly Districts and a portion of the District of Trichinopoly, thus forming the southernmost portion of the Presidency of Madras. Compared with the extent of the Empire of the Great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka in the 3rd Century B. C., this South Indian Province sinks into the level of a principality of very modest dimensions. But the great *Priyadarsin* himself recognised the Pāṇḍiyas as independent monarchs and their country as a neighbouring realm. Ptolemy in his geography and the unknown author of the Periplus, both refer to the Pāṇḍiyan Kingdom as prosperous and independent powers in the south of India.

Along with the sister Dravidian Kingdoms, the Pāṇḍiyan country, by its peculiar geographical position, was rendered immune from attacks from the Kings who ruled north of the Vindhya range, an immunity enjoyed till the momentous era of the advent of the Muhammadan arms into the south of India in the beginning of the 14th Century A.D. Even so late as in the 13th Century A. D., Marco Polo declared the country of the Pāṇḍiya as the "finest and noblest" where were found "very great pearls." To such an extent were the wealth and importance born of foreign commercial intercourse developed in Southern India, that in the early centuries of the Christian era *Yavana* (Roman or Greek) mercenaries were tempted to serve under the Pāṇḍiyan Fish Banner and mount guard on the lofty towers of his Capital, Madura. And judging from Numismatic evidence it is equally certain that in the flourishing periods of the Roman Empire there was a colony of Roman merchants settled on the banks of the Vaigai.

The name *Pāṇḍiya* is referred to in the *Vârtikas* of the sage Katyayana. The hero of the great epic Rāmāyaṇa, counted on the assistance of a Pāṇḍiya in his search for Sīta, Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsa has a description of a tour of conquest made by Raghu, the great grand-father of Rāmā, to whom the Pāṇḍiyan King rendered homage by gems collected from the 'ocean-bed' where the Tāmraparaṇi rolled its waves.

The antiquity of the Dravidian Kingdoms is attested to also by references to them in ancient Tamiḷ literature. The finest and by far the most original Tamiḷ works have been, for various reasons, ascribed to the age of the third and last saṅgam "the far-famed College of Poets" which had its sittings at Madura, probably about the 1st Century A. D. These works throw a flood of light on the political history and civilisation of the country nearly 2,000 years ago. A highly developed monarchical Government aided by popular assemblies is assumed by them to have been the heritage of

ages. The arts of peace no less than of war seem to have been assiduously cultivated and glowing descriptions abound of richly laden merchantmen visiting the emporia on the East and West Coasts of the Drāviḍa country. The Pāṇḍiyans, who were great patrons of literature, treated their paṇḍits and poets with consideration, and rewarded them with liberality. All these must have had behind them centuries of gradual and steady progress, thus furnishing another indication of the extreme antiquity of the Draviḍian Kingdom.

The same conclusion is pointed to by references contained in the early chronicles of Ceylon. Sinhalese traditions make it out that the founder of the "Mahāvamso" or Great Dynasty, married a Pāṇḍiyan Princess and styled himself Pāṇḍuvaṇsa Deva. Many an interesting episode in the Ceylon Chronicle deals with the attempted invasion of the island by the Pāṇḍiyan and consequent reprisals on the mainland by the Sinhalese Monarch. More than once, in the 2nd Century A. D., the Tamiḷs of Madura overran the north of Ceylon and remained for some years in possession of Anurādhapura, an achievement which bears testimony to the amount of military organisation, of which the Pāṇḍyan power was at that early period capable.

For about the first ten centuries of the Christian era, the central tableland of India south of the Vindhya Mountains was the scene of a constant struggle for power, each dynasty succeeding to pre-eminence for a time only to give place to a successful rival. During all this period the Pāṇḍiyan ruled in the Tamiḷ country apparently with the same prosperity as in the times of Aśoka and Ptolemy. The province described by Hiouen Thsang, in the 7th Century A. D., as bounded on the south by the sea, and on the north by the Draviḍian Kingdom with its capital at Kāñchipuram, and abounding with mountains in which grew the Sandal and Camphor trees, was probably no other than that of the Pāṇḍiyas, which under the prosperous rule of Kūn Pāṇḍiyan was of no inconsiderable

importance. So late as the 13th Century A. D. the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, refers to the five Pāṇḍiyan Kingdoms as the best of all the Indies, while the Muhammadan historians of the same period describe the Pāṇḍiyan country as 'Malabar' and the key of Hind in which Sundar Bāndi and his brothers obtained power in different directions.

A Draviḍian Kingdom which, from all accounts, was in a flourishing condition for nearly twenty centuries has yet no reliable connected chronicle of the doings of its Kings. Ancient Tamiḷ Poetry concerned itself more with the true course of love and the rare excellence of the path of the "the law" and "virtue" and the dire retribution of Nemesis than with history and chronology. The oldest literature extant, no doubt, refers to the doings of the Drāviḍa Kings who ruled about the age of the last Madura College of Poets, but it must be remembered that even these doings were recounted by bards in language naturally embellished by poetical imagery and influenced by a sense of grateful appreciation of their patron's liberality.

Works composed with an avowedly religious object could obviously neither further nor aid historic investigation, unless the accounts contained in them were corroborated by evidence gleaned from independent sources. Such are the *Periyapuāeṇam* of Sekkiḷār composed for the illustration of the lives of the sixty-three Śaiva Saints, and the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal* of Parañjoti, dealing primarily with the sporting feats of Śiva as Sundareśvara.

Some useful guidance is no doubt furnished by the poetry of a later age, but that is a period, for unravelling whose history we have the help of more unerring guides, viz, the numerous inscriptions with which the Tamiḷ country was flooded for commemorating the gifts to Temples and religious uses, made by pious sovereigns during the Choḷa ascendancy in South India. It is not a little disconcerting to the historical enquirer to be compelled to appeal to such uncertain

sources for building the history and chronology of a race of Kings, who were so great and adventurous as to have been in a position to send an embassy to Augustus, invade Ceylon and rule over probably one of the earliest civilised communities in India for a longer period than any other monarchy.

What the origin of *this* ancient kingdom was, has been the subject of much interesting speculation. According to early Tamiḷ tradition the founder of the Pāṇḍiyan line was a female, who in her apotheosis, received the appellation "*Madhurāpati*" "Queen of Madura". Pliny mentions a race, the *Gens Pandæ* the only one which was ruled by women. Both he and Megasthenes recount the tradition of a princess, Pandœa, daughter of the Indian Haracles as having founded the South Indian Kingdom.

The word '*Pāṇḍiya*' must be derived from the Sanskrit '*Pāṇḍu*', the name of the father of the five Pāṇḍava brothers whose fortunes furnished the theme of the great national Epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Whether the Pāṇḍiyans were really descended from the lunar race of Hastināpura or not, they from early times styled themselves "Pañchavars', "the five Pāṇḍiyas", in analogy to the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Even so late as the thirteenth century, Marco Polo refers to *Ma'abar* as having been under the rule of one of the *five* royal brothers, who was a crowned King, by name Sundar Bāndi.

The name of their capital, Madura, is distinctly traceable to the famous city of the same name on the banks of the Jamna.

These coincidences in the dynastic title, the name of the Capital and the number of princes that simultaneously wielded sovereign power, could not be fortuitous. They become intelligible only if we assume that an Āryan race, settled on the banks of the Jamnā and claiming kinship with the heroes of the Mahābhārata, migrated into Southern India and founded

the Pāṇḍiyan Kingdom. In course of time, owing to the minority of the new comers and their consequent inter-marriages with those who were subjugated by them, these Āryan settlers came to be known by the name of the people whom they ruled over, as "*Māṛars*" or "Mīnavars", a title by which they are often designated in Tamiḷ poems and inscriptions.

The Pāṇḍiyan King is as often referred to as "Koṛkai-yāḷi", ruler of Koṛkai, an appellation derived from the most ancient of the Pāṇḍiyan Capitals, Koṛkai, on the Sea Coast in the Tinnevelly District. It was a thriving and prosperous Emporium and the Chief City, in the early days of the Pāṇḍiyan rule, but was only second in importance to Madura in the days of Ptolemy. Long after Koṛkai was superseded by the inland Capital, Madura, the heir apparent to the Pāṇḍiyan throne resided in the ancient Capital, which, as the seat of the pearl fishery, furnished a very important source of revenue to the Pāṇḍiyan Treasury. The recision of the sea five miles inland, transferred the trade to a place, called Kôyal, on the same coast, which, after being a flourishing port for a long time, was abandoned for the same reasons which necessitated the giving up of Koṛkai.

Near this ancient Pāṇḍiyan City were unearthed fine, black and red, polished ware, hitherto associated with prehistoric tombs, thus confirming the tradition that Koṛkai was the cradle of Draviḍian Civilization; other places besides Koṛkai have the reputation of having served as Pāṇḍiyan Capitals, but they were more likely the principal cities where-from the Pāṇḍiyan princes, subordinate to the crowned head at Madura, governed their provinces.

The farfamed city of "*Mathura*", as known to the ancients, was probably not identical with the modern town of that name. According to the *purāṇic* account ancient Madura was destroyed by a deluge after the reign of the 45th King, named *Kīrti Vibhūshaṇa*, and the modern Madura

was fortified by a *Vamsasekhara* who inaugurated the celebrated College of Poets. This legendary deluge, alluded to also in S. Indian inscriptions, might refer to some extraordinary flood of the river Vaigai which caused a submersion of the Old Town, whose ruins are still pointed out on the northern bank a few miles from the present City.

Any notice of the Pāṇḍiyans would be incomplete if reference were not made to the account of this rule contained in the indigenous Tamiḷ and Sanskrit Purāṇic writings. Primarily composed with a religious purpose, they yet incidentally attempt to trace the succession and recount the events of the reigns of the Pāṇḍiyan Kings. According to them, the founder of Madura was Kulasekhara who claimed to be descended from the moon even as did the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the epic Mahābhārata. This king's granddaughter, as pointed out already in another connection, married Śiva one of the Hindu Trinity, who came down in mortal form in order to wed the Pāṇḍiyan princess and perpetuate that line. Next in succession according to the Purāṇic lists was a Ugra Pāṇḍiyan who by inter-marriage with the Choḷa line, established a friendly relationship between the two great Draviḍian dynasties.

The name of Ugra Pāṇḍiya is one familiar to students of Tamiḷ Literature under the somewhat lengthy form of "Kānappereil kaḍanta ugra-peruvaḷudi"—as the Sovereign in whose Court Tiruvaḷḷuvar sang the farfamed 'Kuṛaḷ'. But whether "Ugra Pāṇḍiya" of the Purāṇas was identical with the patron of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is a matter upon which in the present state of South Indian Archaeology it is hardly safe to hazard any definite opinion. The three immediate ancestors of the king, according to Tamiḷ literature, were Neḍuñcheḷian II, Vettiveṟ Cheḷiyan and Neḍuñcheḷian I. It is obvious, on a perusal of the purāṇic list of kings, that there is nothing in common between the two sets of names given as those of the predecessors of Ugra Pāṇḍiyan.

The great antiquity claimed in the Purāṇas for the times during which Ugra Pāṇḍiyan flourished does not certainly improve the situation. But it must be remembered that the discrepancies in the names above noted need not always be real. When the Purāṇas were composed, the craze for translating everything into Sanskṛit,—rendering even the proper names into corresponding equivalents in the classical and therefore more respectable language—was so great, that it was little wonder that the names of kings as known to Tamiḻ literature were past recognition in their new garb. Nor could it be overlooked that in the purāṇic accounts, compiled without any regard to chronology or history the extravagant estimate of the duration of reigns may be discarded as altogether a negligible factor?

It is tolerably certain that Ugra Peruvaḻudi of the ancient Tamil Poems probably flourished in the 1st century A.D. Judging from the date, which, as will be shown in the sequel must be assigned to Sundara Pāṇḍiyan the proselyte to Śaivism, and calculating the age of the Purāṇic King backwards and upwards according to standards which are not super-human it is not impossible to assign to him a period which will synchronise with the times of Ugra Peruvaḻudi.

To continue the thread of the Purāṇic account, after Ugra Pāṇḍiyan there was a long succession of ruling princes, whose reigns were remarkable mostly for the hostilities with the rival Draviḍian Power from the north, viz., the Choḻas, and the invariable successes acheived by the Pāṇḍiyan Sovereigns.

These feuds seem to have subsisted in spite of the intermarriages between the two Princely Houses, of which we have many instances. The Cheras, all through, appear to have been content to hold a subordinate position, and now and then the author of the Purāṇa makes this third Draviḍian stock of which so little is known, the ally of the Powerful King of Madura. A deluge is supposed to have changed

the old order of things after the reign of about forty five kings and after the deluge, as already noted, Vamsasêkhara built for himself a new Madura. He was a patron of letters and the Madura College of poets, the "Kūḍal" or "Saṅgham" is supposed to have come into existence during his reign. The list of kings after the deluge ends with the name of the hunch-backed King who became erect in form and fair of feature after he gave up his religion of birth viz., Jainism and espoused the Šaivite faith, cured alike of his physical deformity and spiritual obliquity by the persuasive eloquence of the great Tamiḷ lyric poet and philosopher, Tirujñāna-sambanda, and took thenceforth the name of Sundara, (beautiful) in contradistinction with his former appellation of Kubja (hunch backed). Whether the succession according to the Purāṇam was fanciful or real, and whether or not they furnish us with a faithful record of the events they delineate, there is in them a vivid, though one sided, picture of the undoubted conflict which, in S. India, long raged between a form of Šaivism and a form of Buddhism if not Jainism, and finally resulted in the complete supplantation by the Brahminical of the ante-Brahminical faith which laterly never had a permanent hold on India proper.

It would at present be a fruitless enquiry to enter into a more detailed examination of the indigenous accounts; still it might be observed that however interwoven with allegory and mythology, they might, yet, in the main story, receive confirmation from the results of epigraphical and numismatic research. But, so far, the results have been disappointing.

Some early Pāṇḍiyan names do, no doubt, occur in the inscriptions discovered and deciphered up to date. Such are Vīra, Rājasimha, Varaguṇa, Kulasêkhara and Sundara. Still the age of the inscriptions is at hopeless variance with the extreme antiquity and the order of succession claimed for these Kings in the Purāṇas.

Rājasimha whose name appears pretty high up in the Purāṇic pedigree was according to the inscriptions a contemporary of the Chôḷa King Parāntaka I., who flourished in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

Vīra Pāṇḍiyan, who is still higher up in the purāṇic list fought, according to the inscriptions, with Āditya Karikāla "in his youth and took the head of a Chôḷa King."

Varaguṇa Pāṇḍiyan, who was also known as Mārañjaḍaiyan, has an inscription in the Trichinopoly cave which shows that he was a powerful monarch who had extended his territory by invading and overrunning part of the Chôḷa Kingdom. If this Varaguṇa was the same as the King of that name who according to the Udaiyêndiram Plates of Prithivipati I., fought with that King, then his age must be fixed as 8th century A.D., that is, a century earlier than Rājasimha. There was another Varaguṇa who fought the Kiḷḷi Sênai or the army of Kôkiḷḷi, one of the early ancestors of the Chôḷa King Vijaiyālaya. And Vijaiyālaya was the monarch from whose reign commences that revival of the Chôḷa ascendency to which we owe the temples and architectural remains in Southern India. There could therefore have been no connection between this last King Varaguṇa and the others referred to already. The names of Kulasêkhara and Sundara occur in inscriptions of such varying periods all posterior to the probable date of the composition of the Purāṇic accounts that it is hopeless to trace any identity between the two sets of sovereigns. The name Sundara is one around which there has been a lot of controversy, mainly owing to the assumption that Sundara was a proper name, instead of a common one, signifying all Pāṇḍiyans as in "the crown of Sundara" or simply beautiful, according to its etymological signification. Various theories were advanced in connection with the age of Sundara *alias* Kūn or Kubja Pāṇḍiyan, the last, if not the penultimate, of the early Pāṇḍiyan Kings. This King was attempted to be identified with "the Sunder Bāndi" of

Marco Polo and the Muhammadan historians and thus his age was fixed as the end of the 13th century. Others were not wanting who ascribed to him a hoary antiquity and still others who wanted to place him in the 2nd or the 11th century A.D. These doubts were however set at rest in the following manner.

The last of the Pāṇḍiyan Kings is referred to as a "Neḍumāran" in the *Periyapurāṇam*, who was victorious in the battle of Nelvêli and though a Jain by religious persuasion married a Chôla Princess who was a staunch Šaivite. This Pāṇḍiyan King was said to be a hunch back, and whether it referred to his physical deformity or moral obliquity is not possible to assert with certainty. The King fell ill and the Chôḷa Princess taking advantage of his malady, compassed his conversion from Jainism, by introducing into his Court, Tirujñānasambanda-mūrti in whose healing art and persuasive eloquence, the Princess had great faith. The account is that the Šaivite priest cured the King of both his physical deformity and his religious heresy.

There is no reason to doubt that Tirujñānasambanda was a great poet and ardent Šaiva reformer and a historic personage. It is equally certain that this Sambanda according to all accounts played a not insignificant part in the reign of a Pāṇḍiyan who was known as Kūn *alias* Sundara Pāṇḍiyan. That Tirujñānasambanda flourished in the first part of the 7th century* must be taken as settled for various reasons which it is foreign to the present purpose to recount here. It follows that Sundara Pāṇḍiyan who was so successfully proselytised must have also flourished at the same time.

Thus we have a lower limit of the age of the early Pāṇḍiyans, the last of whom probably flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D.

* *Vide* "Some Mile-Stones in the History of Tamiḷ Literature" or "The Age of Jñāna Sambanda", *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3.—Ed.

The indigenous accounts make out that after Kūn Pāṇḍiyan, his son ruled the country and died without issue. Thereafter there was a period of anarchy which terminated when Sômasêkhara Pāṇḍiyan secured the Pāṇḍiyan throne. This King had a long line of descendants about whose number and order of succession the manuscripts have no uniform story. These ruled at Madura till that momentous period in Dravidian History when the advent of the Muhammadan Arms in Southern India crushed for ever what semblance of sovereignty was being exercised by the Pāṇḍiyans in the fourteenth century.

After this event the names of Pāṇḍiyan Kings occur in inscriptions in the Southern portion of the Pāṇḍiyan country for two centuries more: but the real power was in the Nāyaka viceroys of Vijianagar who, coming on the scene to help the Pāṇḍiyan Kings in driving out the Mussulmans, have in turn usurped sovereign authority and ruled in all probability in the name of their puppets, the descendants of the old Pāṇḍiyan line.

The history of the Pāṇḍiyan kingdom after Kūn Pāṇḍiyan is more or less intimately connected with that of the Chôḷa kings of India and the Sinhalese sovereigns of Ceylon. The Mahāvamso records the invasions of the island by the Pāṇḍiyan kings and reprisals in the shape of expeditions sent forth into the mainland by the Sinhalese Sovereigns. The Chôḷas and Pāṇḍiyans were in a state of constant war in the 10th and the 11th centuries and by the time of Rāja Rāja Chôḷa, the Chôḷa power became supreme in the South. There appears to have been a temporary accession of power to the Pāṇḍiyan in the 12th or 13th centuries after which the invasion of the South by the Muhammadans under Malic Kafur crippled the Pāṇḍiyan power and rendered its sovereignty in the Pāṇḍiyan country no more than a nominal one.

The inscriptions of the period between the 10th and 13th centuries resolve themselves into two classes:—

(1) Those relating to the Chôḷa inroads into the Pāṇḍiyan country and (2) those relating to the time of the more than one war of Pāṇḍiyan succession that took place in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The first of these sets of inscriptions describes in glowing terms the victory of the Chôḷas over the Pāṇḍiyan Kings. According to an inscription of Oḍaiyār Rājêndra Chôḷa Dêva "the king conquered with his great warlike army the crown of Sundara which the king of the South had formerly given to the King of Iḷam (Ceylon), the pearl necklace of Śiva and the whole of Iḷamaṇḍalam".

In an inscription in the Kailāśanātha temple at Coñjīvaram in the Chingleput District the Chôḷa King glories in the name of Maduraikoṇḍa Kô Parakêsari Varman. King Parāntaka I., and his Grandson both adopted the surname of Madurāntaka which signifies Conqueror of Madura. The inscription of Kô Rājakêsari Varman in the Tanjore temple makes out that that great king deprived the Cheḷias (Pāṇḍiyans) of their splendour, that he presented the gold seized after conquering the Pāṇḍiyans to that temple, and that he conquered the Madura Maṇḍalam whose fort bore banners that touched the clouds. The exploits of Kulôttuṅgan are recounted in much the same terms in another inscription of the same temple: the big head of the brilliant king of the South (Tennavan) lay outside his golden town being pecked by kites. He destroyed the jungle which the Pañchavas had entered as refuge, when they became much afraid on the battle field where he fought with them and from which they turned their backs and fled. He was pleased to seize the pearl fishery and the Podiyil where the three kinds of Tamiḷ flourished. In the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions for 1894 is one of Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa III found in the Raṅganāyaka temple at Nellore which records that the king took Iḷam and Madura and was pleased to cut off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍiyan. Inscriptions of the same

import have been discovered at Chidambaram and Śri-raṅgam.

The period which witnessed these various inroads of the Chôḷa Kings into the Pāṇḍiyan Country was the time of the reign of Mahindu and Vijaya Bāhu and Parākrama Bāhu in Ceylon. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., Ceylon was invaded by a Pāṇḍiyan King and according to the *Mahāvamso* attacked the Capital of Ceylon and was bought off with a large ransom. Sometime afterwards, there was a counter invasion by the Sinhalese king during the course of which Madura was attacked and plundered. In the time of Rāja Rāja Chôḷa he invaded Ceylon again, captured Mahindu and placed a Pāṇḍiyan Viceroy on the Sinhalese throne. The successor of Rāja Rāja namely Kulôttuṅga I conquered Vīra Pāṇḍiyan and placed Gaṅgai Koṇḍa Chôḷa on the throne of Madura under the title of Sundara Pāṇḍiya Chôḷa. Rājêndra's son Vikrama Chôḷa and the latter's son Kulôttuṅga II both appear to have ruled over the Pāṇḍiyan Country. The inscriptions which narrate incidentally the victory of the Chôḷa army over the Pāṇḍiyans evidently refer to this period. The inscriptions themselves do not give any clue towards ascertaining the names of the Pāṇḍiyan Kings who were concerned in the wars in question except in the case of the victory of Kulôttuṅga I., which is said to have been obtained against Vīra Pāṇḍiyan, the son of Vikrama Pāṇḍiyan.

We now proceed to consider the second set of inscriptions which bring us to the time of the Pāṇḍiyan war of succession. In dealing with the inscriptions themselves it is necessary also briefly to notice the account given by the *Mahāvamso*, of the manner in which help was sought of and rendered by Parākrama Bāhu and his successors. In the reign of Parākrama Bāhu, Kulasêkhara then ruling over the Pāṇḍiyan Country had a rival claimant by name Parākrama Pāṇḍiyan and this latter claimant sought the aid of Parā-

krama Bāhu of Ceylon. The Sinhalese monarch who was only too glad to seek occasion to chastise Kulasêkhara for the indignities offered by him in the past sent forth an expedition into the main land under his general Laṅkāpura Duṇḍanātha. Before, however, the Ceylon General could carry out his royal masters mandate, Parākrama Pāṇḍiyan was killed and Kulasêkhara was in secure possession of Madura. Nothing daunted by this unexpected turn which events took, the Ceylon General fortified Rāmeśvaram and defeated Kulasêkhara's Generals Sundara Pāṇḍiyan and Pāṇḍiyan Yuva Rājā in many pitched battles and eventually sent for Vīra Pāṇḍiyan the son of the deceased Parākrama and installed him on the throne of Madura.

Kulasêkhara however was irrepressible. Again he attacked Laṅkāpura now with the aid of the Chôḷa King and now with that of the ruler of Toṇḍamaṇḍala, attacked the Ceylon General whose forces were reinforced by those of another General by name Jagathuryaya. The Sinhalese Chronicle gives the victory always to the Ceylon General and recends that the Tamiḷ army was completely routed and put to flight. Believing that he had restored order and piece in the Pāṇḍiyan Kingdom, Laṅkāpura ordered that the Kahapana of Parākrama Bāhu should be used as currency throughout the country. Though victory was always given to the Sinhalese army by the *Mahāvamso* it is still not difficult to see that Kulasêkhara's attempt to regain his throne was fraught with a considerable amount of trouble to the Sinhalese army; for otherwise there could be no necessity for Laṅkāpura calling for and obtaining reinforcements from Ceylon. An inscription discovered dated the 5th year of the Chôḷa King Parakêsari Varman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin in Ārpaukum in the Chingleput Dt., gives at any rate in one case a complete victory to the combined Chôḷa and Pāṇḍiyan armies over the Ceylon Generals Jayadratha Duṇḍa Nāyaka and Laṅkāpura Duṇḍanāyaka.

The hostilities commenced by Kulasêkhara were continued by his son Vikrama. According to the inscription of Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa II, already referred to, the allied armies of that monarch and Vikrama defeated the army of Vīra Pāṇḍiyan and that of his allies the Sinhalese. The Sinhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and they rushed into the sea to escape from the Chôḷa troops. Vīra Pāṇḍiyan himself was compelled to retreat and the town of Madura was taken by the Chôḷa army who planted in the town the pillar of victory and made over the Pāṇḍiyan throne to Vikrama Pāṇḍiyan their ally.

The restoration of Vikrama Pāṇḍiyan to the throne of Madura did not terminate the troubles that originated at the time of Kulasêkhara, for in the 13th century we find that, during the reign of Bhuvaneka Bāhu of Ceylon (1277-1288), an expedition was sent by the five brothers who governed the Pāṇḍiyan Kingdom commanded by a Tamiḷ general named Ārya Chakravarti who captured the City of Subhagiri (Yapanwa = Jaffna) carried away the venerable tooth relic and all the wealth that was there and presented the booty to the Pāṇḍiyan King Kulasêkhara. Of the five brothers who ruled in the Pāṇḍiyan Country, Sundara must have been the most powerful, though Kulasêkhara was apparently the eldest. This Sundara claimed to be known as "the second Rāma plundering Ceylon" and "the conqueror of all countries" and must be that Jatavarman Sundara Pāṇḍiya Deva who ascended the throne in A.D. 1250, who in an inscription in the Temple of Raṅganātha Svāmi at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly District claims besides to have been the Sun among Kings and the Chief of the world, to have taken Śrīraṅgam from a King designated as the moon of Karnāṭaka and plundered the capital of the Kaṭaka King. A similar incident is referred to in the Tirukkaḷikunṛam and Jambukêsvaram inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍiya Deva. The Kaṭaka King conquered by him was probably one of the

Gajapati lords of Orissa which the whole of the Karnāṭaka Moon was the Hoy Sala King Somēśwara, who was then ruling in the Chōḷa Country at the Vikramapuram. The site of this town has been fixed as Kaṇṇanūr a few miles from Śrīraṅgam with the help of an inscription of that King in the Jambukēśwaram Temple in the Trichinopoly District.

This Suṇdara Pāṇḍiya claims to have covered the dome of the shrine of the Raṅganātha Temple with gold and assumed the name of Hêmachchādana Rājā.

A monarch of these pretentions to wealth and power must have been widely known throughout Southern India and was possibly the very person to whom Mohammed Wassuf and Marco Polo were referring.

An examination of the history of this period with reference to the inscriptions and the Ceylon Chronicles leads us to infer that there were at least five Suṇdara Pāṇḍiyas associated with an equal number of Kulasêkhara Pāṇḍiyas, whose place in history is tentatively assigned by the Government Epigraphist as follows :—

1. Kulasêkhara and Suṇdara who took part in the war of the Pāṇḍiyan succession referred to the Mahāvansō, at the time of Parākrama Bāhu. The period of these monarchs may be placed between A. D. 1175-1200.

2. Jaṭhavarman Kulasêkhara and Māṛavarman Suṇdara Pāṇḍiya (1214 A.D.), who are referred to in the Tiruppuvanam plates, ascribable to the period between 1220-1250 A.D., and published by Dr. Burgess in his report of the Archæological Survey. This Māṛavarman is said to have burnt Tanjore and Woṛaiyūr and presented the Chōḷa Country to the Chōḷa King who prostrated at his feet.

3. Māṛavarman Kulasêkhara and Jaṭhavarman Suṇdara, who may be assigned to A.D, 1251, both of whom, claim to have conquered all countries. The latter was probably the same as that Jaṭhavarman Suṇdara who claimed the title of

Hemachchādana Rājā, after conquering the Karnāṭaka Moon. It appears that at the same time, there was ruling in the Pāṇḍiyan Country also a King named Vikrama Pāṇḍiya.

4. Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍiya II., also a contemporary of the above mentioned Somēśvara with Kalis Dēwar as his co-regent.

5. The King Sundara Pāṇḍiya who opposed his step-brother Vīra Pāṇḍiya and took refuge with Allah-ud-din Kilji in A.D., 1314. Saḍagōpavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravarti Dēva was a contemporary of this Sundara Pāṇḍiya.

Succeeding this monarch there appears to have ruled in the Pāṇḍiyan Country, a Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍiya who was also a contemporary of the Karnāṭaka Moon Somēśwara already referred to with Kalis Dēwar as his co-regent. The reign of this monarch seems to have been a peaceful and uneventful one and till the time of his successor who opposed his step-brother Tīra or Vīra Pāṇḍiya, we find no stirring event in Pāṇḍiyan History.

In the beginning of the 14th century the temporary accession of power gained by the Pāṇḍiyan King was destined to be lost during the internecine warfare that has on more than one occasion provoked the intercession of the Chōḷa and the Sinhalese Sovereigns. The King who opposed his step-brother was Sundara Pāṇḍiya who having murdered his father and unsuccessfully attempted to wrest the throne from Vīra Pāṇḍiya eventually took refuge with Allah-ud-din Kilji, Emperor of Delhi in about A.D. 1314.

The Mohammedans of Afghan and Arab descent had for more than five centuries prior to the period made frequent incursions into Hindustan. But it was not before the commencement of the 11th century that their power was firmly established in India.

The Early Pāndiyas.

List of the Early Pandiyas and the order of their succession

AS FOUND IN THE

Hālāsya Māhātmya or Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal of Madura.

BY THE EDITOR.

1. Kulaśêkhara Pāṇḍiyan, *the founder of the city Madura.* His seat of Government was in Maṇalūr * (மணலூர்), an ancient town. His son,

2. Malayadhvaja Pāṇḍiyan, known also as Chitravāhana in the *Mahābhārata.* His wife is Pon-mālai or Kāñchanamālā. Their daughter,

* Though Kulaśêkhara is said in the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* as the founder of Modern Madura, it seems that he was builder of a temple to God Śiva in the Kaḍambavanam ("forest of the Kaḍamba trees") and laid foundation to the city therein. For we see that the seat of government was not changed from Maṇalūr to Madura even in the reign of his son Malayadhvaja and we learn from the Mahābhārata that Arjuna's meeting with Malayadhvaja was not in Madura but in Maṇalūr. The Mahābhārata relates that Arjuna, in his rambles in the south, visited Maṇalūr, claimed relationship with Malayadhvaja and married his only daughter, the heiress of the Pāṇḍiya throne. We read also the same story in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata-*purāṇas.* Hence we can conclude that Kulaśêkhara, his son and even Taḍātagai-Piraṭṭi swayed their sceptre from Maṇalūr, the older city. Even in the early days of Ugra Pāṇḍiya's reign Maṇalūr seems to have been his capital. And it might be that, after the Mahabhārata War, Ugra Pāṇḍiya transferred his capital from Maṇalūr to Madura. We can even suppose that Ugra Pāṇḍiya was the actual builder of the city after the plan of his great grand-father Kulaśêkhara.

3. Taḍātagai-Pirāṭṭi, known also as Chitrāṅgada. She was a glorious and victorious sovereign of the Pāṇḍiyan kingdom. She married Suṇḍara or Dêva Pāṇḍiya (identical with Arjuna), one of the Pāṇḍava brothers. Their son,
4. Ugra Pāṇḍiyan. He is known also under the title of Hāra Dhāri. His name is immortalised as Papruvāhana in the *Mahābhārata*. He was the founder of a Saṅgam or "Kūḍal" in Madura. Ugra Pāṇḍiya's son,
5. Vīra P.* His son,
6. Abhishēka P. His son,
7. Vikrama P. His son,
8. Rājaśēkhara P. His son,
9. Kulōttuṅga P.
10. Aṇaṇtaguṇa P. His son,
11. Kulabhūshaṇa P. Also known as Sundarasāmanta and Kulaśekhara P. Kāḍuveṭṭi Chōḷa was his contemporary. Kulabhūshaṇa's son,
12. Rājēṇdra P. His brother Rājasimha married the daughter of Kāḍuveṭṭi (Sans. Kāntārachchēdi) Chōḷa and rebelled against his brother. Rājēṇdra's son,
13. Rājēśa P. His son,
14. Rājagambhīra P. His son,
15. Pāṇḍiyavamśapradīpa P. His son,
16. Puruhūtavijit P. His son,
17. Pāṇḍiyavamśapatāka P. His son,
18. Suṇdarēśa-pāda-śēkhara P. Invasion of the Pāṇḍiya country by the Chōḷa king and the defeat of the latter. Suṇdareśa-pāda-śekhara's son,
19. Varaguṇa P. Pāṇapattiran (Sans. Bhadragāyakah) lived in this reign. Varaguṇa's son,
20. Rājarāja P. His son,
21. Suguṇa P. His son,

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* P = Pāṇḍiyan.

22. Chitraratha P. His son,
23. Chitrabhūshaṇa P. His son,
24. Chitradhvaja P. His son,
25. Chitravarma P. His son,
26. Chitrasēna P. His son,
27. Chitravikrama P. His son,
28. Rājamārtāṇḍa P. His son,
29. Rāja çūḍāmaṇi P. His son,
30. Rāja sārdūla P. His son,
31. Dwījarāja kulōttama P. His son,
32. Āyōdhanapravīṇa P. His son,
33. Rājakuñjara P. His son,
34. Pararāja Bhayaṅkara P. His son,
35. Ugrasēna P. His son,
36. Mahāsēna P. His son,
37. Chatruñjaya P. His son,
38. Bhīmaratha P. His son,
39. Bhīmaparākrama P. His son,
40. Pratāpamārtāṇḍa P. His son,
41. Vikramakañjuka P. His son,
42. Yuddhakōlāhala P. His son,
43. Atuluvikrama P. His son,
44. Atulakīrti P. His son,
45. Kīrtibhūshaṇa P. Destruction of the Madura Saṅgam by a deluge.
46. Vaṁšasêkhara Pāṇḍiya, rebuilt the city, defeated the Mlêchchas and the Turushkas and founded the "Third Saṅgam". Poets Kapilar and Paraṇar and the king Vikrama Chōḻan were his contemporaries. Vaṁšasêkhara's son,
47. Vaṁšaçūḍāmaṇi P. Also known as Šaṇbaga Māṟan. The poet Nakkīrar flourished during his reign.
48. Pratāpasūrya P. His son,
49. Vaṁšadhwaja P. His son,
50. Ripumardana P.
51. Chōḻavaṁšāntaka P.
52. Chêravaṁšāntaka P.
53. Pāṇḍiyavaṁšêša P.

54. Vaṁśa-śirōmaṇi P.
55. Pāṇḍiyêśvara P.
56. Kuladhvaja P.
57. Vamśavibhūshaṇa P.
58. Sōmaçūḍāmaṇi P.
59. Bhūpaçūḍāmaṇi. There was a deluge during his reign. The Third Saṅgam poets were swept away.
60. Pāṇḍiyakulêśa P. Also called Kulaśêkhara Pāṇḍiyan. Madhyavanādīśa (Tamiḻ Iḍaikkāḍar) flourished during his reign. Kulaśêkhara's son,
61. Arimardana P. Māṇikkavāçagar flourished in his reign. To Māṇikkavāçagar, Saṅgam was one that already passed away. He refers to Saṅgam in his *Kōvai* but in the past tense as "கூடலிருந்த தண்டமிழ்".
62. Jagannātha P. His son,
63. Vīrabāhu P.
64. Vikramabāhu P.
65. Parākramabāhu P.
66. Surabhi P.
67. Kuṅkuma P.
68. Kaṟpūra P.
69. Kāruṇya P.
70. Purushōttama P.
71. Śatruśāsana P.
72. Kubja Pāṇḍiyan. Also called Sundara P. (Tam. Kūn-Pāṇḍiyan); also known as Neḍu-Māṟan in Tamiḻ Literature. Jñānasambandha flourished in his reign. According to recent researches his age is fixed in the middle of the seventh century A. D.
73 Madurêśvara Pāṇḍiya. He died without issue and with him the Early Pāṇḍiyas' dynasty terminated.

As the list above shows, the Early Pāṅḍiyan dynasty ends with Madureśvara Pāṇḍiyan, son of Kūn-Pāṇḍiyan whose date is fixed at the early part of the seventh century A. D.,

by such eminent scholars as Prof. P. Suṇḍaram Piḷḷai M.A., and Mr. V. Veṅkayya M.A., the Government Epigraphist, (*see The Antiquary No. 3 "Some Mile Stones in the History of Tamiḻ Literature"*). We have thus the lower limit of the age of the Early Pāṇḍiyas; and the upper part of their period may be tentatively placed iu the twelfth century B.C., as we find the three names which lead the list, except Kula-śêkhara, connected with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. (*Vide* also the learned article: *Arjuna and the Pāṇḍiyan House* by Paṇḍit Rāghava Aiyaṅgār of Madura, "*Seṉ-Tamiḻ*" Vol. III, No. 10). Some of the Chronicles of the Pāṇḍiyan dynasty place Kūn-Pāṇḍiyan as the 73rd of the line (instead of 72nd). If so, we find a series of seventy kings upwards from Kūn-Pāṇḍiyan to Ugra-Pāṇḍiyan who took the side of the Pāṇḍavas in the "great war". So, the period of reign for each monarch is twenty-five years on an average, which is not in any way improbable. The transfer of the capital from Maṇalūr to Madura by Ugra-Pāṇḍiyan belongs also to this period. Another event of importance that occured in his reign is the foundation of a Saṅgam or "Kūḍal" in Madura, anterior to the establishment of the Third Saṅgam by Vamśaśêkhara, the 46th of the line.

Some scholars seen to confound this Ugra-Pāṇḍiya with one Ugra-peru-vaḷudi (உக்கிரப்பெருவழுதி), the reputed Patron of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, who belonged to the first century A. D., and with whom, according to the tradition recorded, the Third Saṅgam ceased to exist. Accidental coincidences of same names are a matter of common occurence in the Chronology of South Indian kings. It is a traditional custom to name a grand-son after his grand-father's name adding with it a long list of titles earned by him or his ancestors. It is therefore not unnatural that we often meet with many Ugra-Pāṇḍiyas, many Vīra-Pāṇḍiyas, many Varaguṇas, many Suṇḍaras and many others alike. And this often misleads an Epigraphist.

List of the Latter Pāndiyas *

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1. Sōmašêkhara P.
2. Kaṛpūra Sundara P.
3. Kumāṛa-šêkhara P.
4. Kumāra Sundara P.
5. Sundara Rāja P.
6. Shaṇmukha Rāja P.
7. Mêru Sundara P.
8. Iṇdravarma P.
9. Chaṇdrakula Dipa P.
10. Mīna-kêtana P.
11. Mīna-dhvaja P.
12. Makara-dhvaja P.
13. Mārtāṇḍa P.
14. Kuvalayānanda P.
15. Kuṇḍala P.
16. Šatru Bhīkara P.
17. Šatru Samhāra P.
18. Vīravarma P.
19. Vīrabāhu P.
20. Makuṭavardhana P.
21. Vajra-simha P.
22. Varma Kulōttuṅga P.
23. Ati Vīra Rāma P.
24. Kula-vardhana P.
25. Sōma-šekhara P.
26. Sōma-sundara P.
27. Rājarāja P.
28. Rāja-kuñjara P
29. Rāja-šêkhara P.
30. Rāja-varma P.
31. Rāmavarma P.
32. Varadarāja P.
33. Kumārasimha P.
34. Vīrasêna P.
35. Pratāpa Rāja P.
36. Vīraguṇa Rāja P.
37. Kumāra Chaṇdra P.
38. Varatuṅga P.
39. Chaṇdrasêkhara P.
40. Sōmašêkhara P.
41. Parākrama P.

D. S.

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* Sewell, Archæological Survey of S. India Vol 2, pp. 214-220.

The Conquest of Bengal and Burma by the Tamils.*

BY THE LATE

MR. V. KANAKASABHAI, B.A., B.L.

Far away from any public road or railway line, and out of the track of tourists and pilgrims, in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly District, there is an ancient temple, the lofty tower of which is visible for many miles around. No village or town is seen anywhere near it. No devout worshipper eagerly enters its portals. No strains of music or flourish of trumpets announce any festival in the shrine. A solemn silence reigns over the region. Unknown, unhonored and unsung, the temple stands in the midst of a solitude, as if it were the sole relic of a past age and a forgotten empire. The central tower is 174 feet high and the enclosure measures 584 feet by 372 feet.[1] There are six smaller towers on the outer wall, which is strongly fortified with batteries at the four corners. A deep moat which once surrounded the enclosure appears to have been filled up many years ago: and the stone walls and battlements were demolished and large quantities of the stone evidently removed from the site. The tower over the gateway is a mass of ruins, and the broken debris partially blocks the entrance. If you approach the central tower, through one of the gaps in the outer wall and crossing the spacious courtyard enter the shrine, you behold a gigantic Linga about 30 feet high made of a single block of polished black granite. The sight of the ruined and neglected sanctuary makes you sad when you step into it; and your feelings are sadder still when you see that the object of worship in the temple is cleft in two from top to bottom.

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* A Reprint from the "Madras Review" for August, 1902 with kind permission.

[1] Sewell's List of Antiquities Vol. I, p. 264.

The Brahmin priest who keeps up the formalities of a daily service in the temple, tells you that a long time ago, during a thunderstorm, the tower was struck by lightning which descended on the Liṅga and split it in two. "Forsaken by God and man" you exclaim mentally as you hurry out of the shrine. Coming out and surveying the temple leisurely you cannot but admire the grandeur of the central tower, the exquisite sculptures on its walls, and the vast dimensions of the entire structure; and you naturally enquire who could have built this magnificent temple. You feel certain that the founder of this superb shrine must have been a great king who commanded the resources of an extensive and wealthy empire. The Brahmin priest who serves the temple is however unable to tell you anything beyond that it was built by an ancient King Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḻa.

In the vicinity of the temple there is a very large tank which is also now completely ruined. Fifty years ago, the tank and the temple were described as follows in Pharoah's Gazetteer of Southern India [*]:—"It may also be mentioned that in the Udayārpālayam Taluq there is an embankment sixteen miles long running north and south, provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India. . . . . The tank has been ruined and useless for very many years and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful and the act of an invading army. Near the southern extremity of the bund there is a village now surrounded by a jungle called Gaṅgaikoṇḍapuram. Immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of very large size, and costly workmanship, and close by, surrounded and overgrown with jungle, are some remains of ancient buildings now resembling the mounds

[*] Pharoah's Gazetteer of Southern India, pp. 338-9.

or "heaps" which indicate the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence Gaṅgaikoṇḍapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a small monarchy and the great tank spread fertility and industry over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest......Speaking of the noble temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍapuram it must not be omitted that when the lower Coleroon *anicut* was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work." It is gratifying to note that the stones which were removed from the temple erected by the Chôḷa king are still useful to the degenerate descendants of a people, whom the great king dearly loved, forming as they do at present the *anicut* which serves to distribute throughout the Tanjore District the fertilising waters of the Cauvery river.

No mention is made of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-chôḷa-puram in any inscription of Rājarāja Chôḷa (A. D. 984-1013) or of his immediate predecessors, during whose reign Tanjore was the capital of the Chôḷa kingdom. From the Tamiḷ poem Kaliṅgattuparaṇi, it appears however that Kulōttuṅga Chôḷa, the Eastern Chalukya, who reigned from A. D. 1064 to 1113 held his court in Gaṅgapuri, and that his mother was the daughter of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-chôḷa [3]. Inscriptions beginning with the words "Tiru-mannivaḷara," which are found in the great temple at Tanjore and in other ancient temples in Southern India, record that Kōpparakēsarivarma alias Rājēndrachôḷadēva conquered the northern countries up to the banks of the Ganges [4].

It appears also from his inscriptions that he was the son and successor of Rājarāja Chôḷa (A. D., 984—1013) and

[3] Kaliṅgattup-paraṇi.

[4] South Indian Inscriptions Vol. I, 95 and F. F.

that he reigned for at least 31 years, that is from A. D. 1013 to 1044. In inscriptions dated in the twelfth year of his reign, (A. D. 1025), he is said to have conquered Orissa, Guzerat, Behar and Bengal and reached the banks of the Ganges. An inscription in the nineteenth year of his reign (A.D. 1032) records that he issued from his palace at Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-chôḷa-puram, an order granting an yearly allowance of paddy to the priest of Rājarājesvara temple at Tanjore [5]. Hence it is certain that after his conquest of the kingdoms up to the banks of the Ganges, he assumed the title of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-chôḷa (the Chôḷa who seized the Ganges) and to perpetuate the memory of his great victories, he founded the city of Gaṅgai-koṇḍachôḷa-puram between the years A. D. 1025 and 1032 and erected the temple of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-choḷīśvaram. A complete list of the several kingdoms conquered by him and the names of some of the princes defeated by him are given in the inscriptions of his thirteenth year which commence as follows:—

Health and wealth! In the thirteenth year of Kōpparakēsarivarman *alias* Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājêndrachōḷadêva in whose long and prosperous reign, the great Lady Earth, the goddess of Victory and the matchless damsel of Fame rejoiced that they had become his great queens, and who with his large and splendid army conquered Iḍai-turai-nāḍu; wide Vanavāsi which is defended by a thick forest; Kollippākkai which is surrounded by a wall of *sulli* trees; Mannai-kaḍakkam, whose fortifications are unapproachable; the crown of the king of Īḷam (Ceylon) which is in the raging ocean; the very pretty diadems of his queens; the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra, which the Thennavan (Pāṇḍiya) had left with the former (king of Ceylon) and the whole kingdom of Īḷam (Ceylon) girt by the crystal waves (of the sea); the famous crown of Keraḷam,

[5] South Indian Inscriptions Vol. II. part I, p. 105.

lord of conquering legions, which he wears by hereditary right and his garland of rubies; countless old islands in the midst of the ocean in which conches resound; the honorable crown of pure gold which Parasurāma who had twenty-one times killed the kings (Kshatriyas) in fierce battle, had established hoping thereby to earn the favor of (the god) Agni, whom it is difficult to propitiate; the seven and a half lakhs of the grand (Kingdom of) Iraḍḍappāḍi and great heaps of the nine kinds of treasures, and the boundless fame of Jayasimha, who turned his back and fled with great fear and shame at Muyaṅgi; Chakkarakkōḍḍam (which is) guarded by brave warriors; the kingdom of the Madra race which is surrounded by dense groves; Panchapalli, whose warriors are skilled archers; Masunidesam full of green fields; heaps of ancestral treasures and other riches (which he seized from Indradan of the old race of the moon, whom he captured with all his family at Ādinagar (a city) whose wealth and fame knew no decrease; Oddavishayam which is not easy to approach being surrounded by dense forests; the good country of Kosalai where Brahmins resort: Tandabutti in whose (flowery) gardens bees abide, (and which he conquered) defeating Dharmapāla in a pitched battle; Dakshina Lata famous in all directions (which he acquired) after routing (the forces of) Raṇasūra; Vaṅgaladesa where floods do not stay (whose king) Govindachandra dropped from his elephant and fled; the handsome and strong elephants of Mahipāla who fled in fear from the battle-field and his wives and treasures and Uttara Lata (which is) on the borders of the Bay in which pearls are found and (the river) Ganges whose rushing waters form bathing places (abounding with) fragrant flowers: Saṅgrama Vijayōttuṅga Varman the king of Kaḍāram whom he caught by despatching (his army in) many ships across the stormy sea and his huge elephants furious as the roaring sea, large heaps of

[0] An unpublished inscription at Vṛiddhāchalam.

treasures which he had inherited (from his ancestors); the triumphal arch at the war gate of his extensive city; the small jewelled gate adorned with splendour, and the gate with bells made of stone; the famous Sri-Vishaya; (the creek) Pannai abound with watering places; the ancient Malaiyur which stands fortified on a high hill: Mayir-udingam surrounded by the deep sea; Lankasōkam (whose warriors are) dauntless in great deeds; Mappapalam which is defended by deep waters; Mevelibangam which is protected by stone walls; Valappanduru possessing many fruitful groves; grate Takkōlam praised by men learned in Sciences; Matamalingham-Lamuri-desem (whose inhabitants) are ferocious and loud in speech; Manakkavaram whose woods abound in honey; and Kaḍāram which is difficult to attack being defended by the sea."

When Rāja Rāja Chôḷa died in A. D. 1013, the Chôḷa Empire included in the north Kalinga (the modern Vizagapatam and Ganjam Districts) and in the west Gangavāḍi and Nalambavāḍi, that is almost the whole of the region now known as the State of Mysore. Rājendra did not attempt to extend this vast empire during the first three years after he ascended the throne. Between the fourth and fifth year of his reign he reduced to subjection Iḍaiturai Nādu [7], Vanavāsi [8] and Kollippakkai [9] and pushed the frontiers of his empire up to the foot of the Western Ghats. Before the end of the eighth year he defeated the Kēraḷa and Kadamba kings, extending his empire to the shores of the Western Ocean. Within the next two years he invaded the western Chalukya kingdom north of the Tungabhadra and forced king Jayasimha[10] to retreat before his victorious army.

[7] Edatore, the head-quarters of a Taluk in the Mysore District.

[8] The ancient Banawasi in the North Kanara District.

[9] Kollipake, one of the capitals of the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha. Mr. Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties p. 44.

[10] Western Chalukya King Jayasimha III A. D. 1018-1040 claims to have been a lion to the elephant Rajendra Chôla. Mr. Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 149.

Elated by these successes in the wars with neighbouring princes he equipped his armies for a career of conquest which is unparalleled in the annals of the Tamil kings. His veteran soldiers commanded by able generals overthrew every obstacle on their march, and opposing kings were either captured or forced to flee from the battle-field. Indradan of the ancient lunar race was captured with all his family and treasures. Dharmapāla was defeated in a pitched battle. Raṇasūra and his forces were routed. Gōvindachandra who advanced at the head of his army "fell from his elephant and fled," as stated in the curt language of the inscriptions. Mahipāla [11] retreated in haste before the Chôḷa army abandoning his wives and treasures. The fortress of Chakkarakkōḍḍam, the Kingdom of the Madra race, the Kona country, Panchappalli, the Sennadesa, Odda-vishaya, Kōsalai-nāḍu, Dakshiṇa-lata, Vaṅgaladesa, Uttara-lata, were all successively conquered and his troops did not rest till they reached the banks of the sacred Ganges. His thirst for conquest was not however appeased by these brilliant feats of his army, or by the immense expansion of his empire. He searched for new lands to be brought under his sway, and fitted out a fleet of ships to carry his army to the Eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal which was known as the Suvarna Bhumi or the Golden land. Landing near the Pannai creek [12], one of the mouths

[11] Mahipāla King of Bengal. His inscription at Sarnath is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1083—A.D. 1026. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVI, p. 140. The Amgachhi copper plate grant of his grandson Vigraha-pāla III, alludes to Mahipāladeva, having obtained his fathers kingdom which had been snatched away by people who had no claim to it." Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 97.

[12] Pannai appears to be the creek Pan Hlaing which runs from the Irrawaddy at Gnyoung-doon to the Hlaing just above Rangoon. In the rainy season large boats can pass through the whole length. The banks are steep and muddy and covered with grass, trees and plantain gardens. British Burma Gazetteer, p. 474.

of the Irawaddy, his army proceeded up the river and seized the king of Kaḍāram. [13]. The flourishing seaports of Takkolam [14] and Matama (Martaban) [15] were taken and the whole of the Kingdom which was named Sri Vishaya and Näkkavaram or the Nicobar and Andaman Islands were annexed to the Chôḷa dominions.

It does not appear that any fresh conquests were attempted after the thirteenth year of his reign. Whether the king was afflicted with any illness during this period, or whether dissensions in the Royal Family had compelled the king to withdraw his troops from foreign lands, or other circumstances had occured which impaired his authority, it cannot now be stated. But it is evident that no vigorous effort was made to retain possession of the kingdoms conquered by his armies, nor was any system of imperial government concerted to conciliate and control the princes who had been defeated. No monument of his victories in

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[13] Kadaram, the ancient capital of the Prome Kingdom, known also as Tha-re-khettra, about eight miles west of Prome on the main road northward to Mye-dai. The ruins of massive pagodas and remains of embankment strengthened with brick-work mark the site, which is now overgrown with shrubs (British Burma Gazetteer, p. 591. The name Tharekhettara is the Burmese rendering of the Sanskrit word Sri-kshetara. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, pp. 6 and 160.

[14] Taikula, now known as Ayethema, south of the town of Bilin. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 383. Though the sea shore is now about twelve miles to the west, this place was still an important Seaport in the 16th and 17th Centuries. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of sea-going vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikula." This is the ancient Takola of Ptolemy and the Kalah of Arabian Geographers. McCrindle's Ancient India described by Ptolemy, pp. 12-16 and 198-9.

[15] Matama or Muttimanagara is Martaban near Maulmain. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, p. 33. The town is said to have been built three years after the foundation of Pegu or in A.D. 576 by Tha-ma-la the first king. British Burma Gazetteer, p. 355.

Bengal or Burma remains to this day. There is however a Mandapa on the Mandara Hill near Bansi in the Bhagulpur District in Behar, which, tradition says, was built by the Rāja Chōḷa [16]. Later Chōḷa kings boast of having had the king of Chēdi (Bundlekund) as their feudatory and of having conquered Kaḍāram a second time.

Continued intercourse appears to have existed, between the Burmese and the nations on the Coromandel coast from very remote times. In a Tamiḷ poem composed in the first century of the Christian Era, it is said that ships from Kalakan (the ancient name of Kadaram) brought articles of merchandise to Kavirippūm-paḍḍinam, the great emporium at the mouth of the Kaveri.[17] Lower Burma or Pegu was conquered by emigrants from the Telugu kingdoms bordering on the Bay of Bengal and consequently the people of Pegu have long been known to the Burmese and to all foreigners by the name Talaing.[18] "The first dynasty of the kings of Pegu extends only to the year A. D. 781, when the reign of king Tissa or Titha came to a close. From that time until the conquest of Pegu by Anvarahta, that is for about 269 years, no events are recorded in the Talaing annals." This blank in the Talaing history was owing to a fresh invasion of the country by emigrants from the Coramandel Coast, who founded the second dynasty of the kings of Pegu whose capital was at Kaḍāram. We have the names of three of these kings in the Tamiḷ inscriptions of Rājarajā Chōḷa and his son Rājēndra Chōḷa. Chūḍāmaṇi-varman, king of Kaḍāram, built a Buddhist Vihara at Nagapaddina (Negapatam) in the Chōḷa kingdom. His son Śrī Maravijayottuṅga Varman obtained the grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam to the Vihara, from Rājarāja Chōḷa. He claimed to have sprung from the Śailēndra

[16] Indian Antiquary, pp. 49 and 54.

[17] The Tamil poem Paddinappalai, 1. 191.

[18] Phayre's History of Burma, pp. 18 and 31.

family, and possessed the Makaradhvaja [19] A successor of Mara-vijayothuṅga was Saṅgrama-Vijayothuṅga-v. who was captured by Rājēndra Chôḷa.

Rājēndra Chôḷa did not possess the same genius fo. organising government which his great father Rājarāja Chôḷa displayed so conspicuously during his reign. He appears to have been more ambitious than prudent and more anxious for his renown than for thc welfare of the nations whom he conquered. In directing his armies to invade distant lands which he could not retain under his authority, in founding a new capital which he named after his own title Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-chôḷa, in erecting the magnificent temple which he also named Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-chôḷiśvarm, it is apparent that the king was actuated more by motives of self-glory than by an earnest desire to develop the resources of his kingdom or to promote the interests of the people in the conquered territories. That he was fully alive to his duties as a king to his own subjects is, however, evident from the peace and order that reigned throughout the Chôḷa kiṅgdom proper and from the many inscriptions which record religious endowments made by him in different parts of the Chôḷa dominions. The tank 16 miles long which he constructed near his new capital, and the long channels which he opened to feed the tank from distant rivers, attest his solicitude to extend and encourage argiculture.

[19] Archaeological Survey of Southern India, Vol. IV, pp. 216 and ff. Dr. Burgess and Mr. Natesa Šāsti identified Kaḍāram with a village of the same nsme in the Rāmnād Zemindari in the Madura District. Dr Hultzsch accepted this identification (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 51 and ff), and hence failed to discover that Rājēndra had conquered Southern Burma. The Pāṇḍiyan Kingdom having been already conquered by Rājarāja and annexed to the Chôḷa Empire there could have been no necessity to send the army to seize the village of Kadaram nor would it have been necessary to send the army by sea. There are no records or ruins to show that the village of Kaḍāram had been once the capital city of an extensive kingdom.

Very little is known of the leading incidents of his private life. From Eastern Chalukya grants, it appears that his sister Kundava married King Vimalāditya (A. D. 1215—1022) and his daughter Ammanga-devi married Vimaladitya's son Rājarāja Narēndra (A. D. 1022—1063,) and his grandson Rajēndrā Chôḷa *alias* Kulotunga Chôḷa (A. D. 1063) the son of Rājarāja Narēndra ruled the Veṅgi and Chôḷa kingdoms.[20]

No literary work in Tamiḷ which has survived to this day appears to have been composed during the reign of Rājēndra Chôḷa. Notices of this King in later poems are very meagre. He is alluded to, though not by name, as the great conqueror whose army reached the Ganges and captured Kaḍāram. These events are referred to in the *Kaḷiṅgāttuparaṇi* as follows:—

"The war elephants of the Chôḷa drank the water of the Ganges at Manni : and Kaḍāram where the roaring crystal waves washed the sand mixed with red gold was annexed (to the Chôḷa kingdom)".[21]

But inscriptions of his reign occur as stated already in most of the ancient temples in Tamiḷ Districts, such as Tāñjore, Coñjīvaram, Vṛiddhāchalam, Tiruvallum, Tirukkoilūr and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. In the long record of the Chôḷa kings, which covers a period of about two thousand years, there is no page more brilliant or more instructive than that describing the numerous conquests of Rājēndra *alias* Gaṅgikoṇḍa-chôḷa.

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[20] South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., pp. 51 and ff.

[21] Kaḷiṅgāttup. Canto viii, stanza 15.

Distribution of Races round the Persian Gulf.*

BY

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We have seen that in primitive times, the Hamitic tribes once predominated the Persian Gulf on all its sides. In Chaldea and Assyria they were subjugated by a Semitic people, while on the Persian side, under a succession of Āryan or Āryo-Scythian empires, the Hamitic tribes became coalesced both in race and language with the ruling nations that hailed from the north and north-east. The only people left untouched on the Persian side were the "fish-eaters," the Ichthyophagi, in Mekran.

On the conquest of the countries round the Gulf by the Mussulmans in the seventh century, the coasts of East Arabia and Irak Arabia were overrun by a rush of Arab tribes from central and western Arabia. Some of them crossed the sea and established themselves on the Persian coast, where their colonies are still to be found. Referring to the passing sensational events in Southern Persia, it must be mentioned that the Tangistanis, who cause so much trouble by occasional raids on Bushire, are neither Arabs nor Persians, but are supposed to be the descendants of a derelict Greek corps left behind during the conquests of Alexander the Great. The only tribes surviving the flood of Arab incursions on the western coast are the wild savages inhabiting the villages near the promontary Ras Mussendoff.

* A reprint from the "Malabar Quarterly Review" with kind permission. (*Ed.*)

The inter-racial and commercial connection of the peoples round the Persian Gulf with those in India is a subject of absorbing interest. That it was once much more intimate than in modern times has been clearly demonstrated by historical research. The Persian Gulf was in ancient times the easiest and most convenient highway of commerce between India and Western Asia with the magnificent seats of civilization on the rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. In modern times it has had to give way to the Red Sea route, but it is sure to leap into importance on the completion of the Baghdad Railway as far a Basrah and the execution of the projected grand irrigation works in Chaldea. The modern times have brought over to India from the shores of the Persian Gulf a number of large communities, the Beni-Israelites, the Navayats, the Daldis, and the Parsis, and have taken over a large number of Indian Shia Mussulmans settled at Kerbella and other sacred Shia places in Turkish Arabia, and of Banias and other traders settled in Bahrein, Pearl Coast and Bandar Abbas who have invested their lakhs in the pearl and other enterprises. History repeats itself. The racial and commercial intercourse was perhaps even on a larger scale when the Persian Gulf was dominated by powerful empires and highly civilized and wealthy nations.

What then were the peoples that in former times inhabited the Western India from Sind to Cape Comorin with whom the Persian Gulf tribes could come into touch? To enable us to answer this question, we shall take a brief review of the events that led to the growth of communities in India. When* the Āryans crossed the Sindhu (Indus) about three thousand years before Christ, they found the aboriginal tribes of India able to offer them a stout resistance. Among the most famous are described in the Ṛig-Veda) IV, 7, 30. 17 and VI, 6, 20, 12) to have been the

* Vide the author's *Konkan's or Goan castes* (1904) pp. 41 *et seq.*

Yadu and *Turuvasa*, who, it is stated in the same ancient book, were once dwellers on the seashore carried across the sea by Indra. The Āryans as a rule carried everything before them, subjugating the aboriginal population who from *Dāsyus*, foreigners, became *Dāsyas*, slaves of their conquerors. Yet there were occasions when, during internal civil strife, the Āryan tribes allied themselves with the Dāsyus, like the *Purus* and *Gāndhāras* and *Bhāratas*. Later on, we find a confederacy of ten tribes, including the non-Āryan Purus and Bhāratas, under the leadership of the Puru king Kutsa, formed against the Aryan tribe *Tritsu* with their allies the *Prithu* and the *Parsu*. The Ṛishi Vasishṭha was the high-priest of the Tritsu, and the Ṛishi Viśvāmitra is found to take sides with the ten tribes. Here is a description of the parties given in *The Story of Vedic India* (pp. 327-9), which bears being quoted :—

"The names of both the enemies and the allies of the Tritsu and their King Sudas have been preserved for us by the bards of the Ṛig-Veda. The confederacy, consisting of ten powerful tribes, was headed by the Puru under their hero the great Kutsa, and by the Bhāratas who, already converted by Viśvāmitra, were to become so thoroughly Āryanized, and take such a prominent position that, in after days, "the Land of the Bhāratas" was to become a synonym for "Āryan India." The names of several other famous chieftains are mentioned as having perished in the decisive battle. Neither were the Tritsu unprovided with allies, and in the array of the latter we are started to find two very familiar names—those of the Parthians and the Persians—*Prithu* and *Parsu*, though there is really nothing so very wonderful in the fact that chips of the two chief Eranian tribes should have, like others, wandered south of the Himālaya. A people named *Vishanin* i.e., followers of Vishṇu, is also mentioned, almost certainly Aryan Āun-worshippers, showing that Vishṇuism

as a distinctive worship—a sect—had its roots in a remoter past than was hitherto suspected. As though to complete the connnection, we find in the list of the Tritsu's allies the Vishanin bracketed with the *Śiva,* which is thought to be a name of the Tugra, one of the oldest aboriginal Draviḍian peoples, whom the Āryas had specially nicknamed "Sons of the Serpent," and who, under the religious designation of Śiva, were very probably the originators of the worship of Śiva under the form or with the attribute of a snake. That all these peoples had even then already become much mixed, partly with the Āryan element, is more than likely. At all events it takes one's breath away to find the three component elements of modern Hinduism: Brāhmaṇism, Vishṇuism, and Śivaism, arrayed before us in the Ṛig-Veda in precisely the same juxtaposition: Tritsu, Vishanin, Śiva!"

Later on it is found that the great Kshatriya tribe of *Kurus* and *Pāṇḍavas* is made to descend from the non-Āryan tribe of *Purus* of the time of the Ṛig-Veda. It is significant also that in the Ṛig-Veda, Kṛishṇa is the name of a non-Āryan king, a loud yelling marauding chief, whom Indra destroyed for the benefit of the Āryan nation (Ṛig-Veda, VIII, 96, 13-15). This barbarian name Kṛishṇa is in the Mahābhārata given to the king of the Kshatriya tribe of the *Yādavas* of Gujarat, who seem to be the descendants of the non-Āryrn tribe of the Vedas that went by the name of *Yadu.* The *Nishadas* were Dasyus or barbarians in the eyes of the Vedic Āryans, but Naḷa, their king, is described in the Mahābhārata as virtuous, learned in the Vedas, and in fact every way that makes him a Kshatriya. Examples might be multiplied to show how the Āryans in the Vedic and Epic periods incorporated in their nation non-Āryan tribes and engrafted them within their own classes according to their profession of priests, warriors, traders, &c.

There is an interesting passage in Baudhāyana (about 600 B.C.,) which describes the state of the Āryan conquests soon after the Vedic period:—

"Some declare the country between the Jumna and the Ganges to be the *Arya-land.*

"The inhabitants of Avanti (Malva), of Aṅga (East Behar), of Magadha (South Behar), of Surāshṭra (Gujrat), of the Dekhan, of Upavrit (Sindh), and the Sauviras (South Punjab) *are of mixed origin.*

"He who has visited the Arattas (of the Punjab), the Karaskaras (of Southern India), the Pundras (of North Bengal), the Sauviras (of the South Punjab), the Vaṅgas (of East Bengal), the Kaḷiṅgas (of South Bengal and Orissa), or the Pranunas, *shall offer a sacrifice.*"

According to the laws of Manu the Ārya-land extended over the whole of Northern India, and the kings of Magadah and other kingdoms in that region, the descendants of non-Āryan chiefs that probably married Aryan damsels, are regarded as pure Kshatriyas. Manu grades the various portions of Ārya-Varta according to the orthodox piety and probable purity of blood of the Āryan-settlers, placing as the first in rank the Brahma-Varta, the land between the two divine rivers, Sarasvatī and Dhṛishadvatī. "The custom handed down in regular succession among the castes and *mixed races* of that country is called the conduct of virtuous men." The words *mixed races* which I have italicised, are suggestive. This mixture of races by mixed marriages is expressly allowed by many Śāstra writers and reversion after certain generations of the progeny to the status of the male, who married the girl of a lower caste, is also recognised

At the time the laws of Manu were written (about 200 B.C.), Southern India was the land of Mlechchas (barbarians), while in Western and Central India the people, as told us

by Baudhāyana, were of mixed origin. About the time of Christ, Southern India was Hinduised and brought completely under the influence of Āryan civilisation. But the language and race of the Dravidians was but little affected by the Āryans. The Dravidian languages, especially Tamil, had reached a very high stage of development, so that Sanskrit made a slight impression upon them, as little as did Greek upon Latin. We find in Southern India a complete classification of the people on caste lines at a very early date. Surely the people of Southern India are not Āryans racially. They were, and are still, mainly of Dravidian race with a slight, if any, admixture of Āryan blood. In Southern India the aboriginal tribes in adopting the Hindu religion selected, as observed by Mr. Dutt (*Ancient India*), priests of their own race. Indeed, the extreme rigour of caste distinctions in Southern India, as compared with its laxity in Western and Northern India, is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that classes had already nearly developed into castes among the Dravidians at the advent of the Āryan into India, and that the crystallisation of the Āryan classes into castes was accelerated, if not actually caused, by the contact and intercourse of the Āryans with the Dravidians.

As the Āryans were spreading the mantle of their civilisation over the whole of India, their own race and civilisation were also profoundly affected by the conquest of Northern India in the sixth century B.C., by a tribe of Scythian origin called *Takshakas* (serpents) by the Hindus. These latter established a dynasty in the Magadah kingdom which reigned until Chandragupta founded the Mauriyan dynasty. The incursion of the Persians under Darius Hystaspes, 510 B.C., left little mark in India. The invasion of India by Alexander, 327 B.C., left only a kingdom under one of his generals in the north-western corner of India. More permanent in its influence was the establishment in

Central and Western India of the Indo-Scythian or Saka Empire of Ujjain about the time of Christ. As a result of the wars waged at the first invasion of India by the Scythians, the old military feudal class appears to have broken down and in its place rose a new class, probably represented by the modern Rajputs.

We may draw some important conclusions from this review of events. When the Āryans began the conquest of India, they had to reckon with some powerful and highly civilized non-Āryan tribes, notably the *Yadu* and *Turuvasu,* who had settled themselves about Sindh after crossing the sea. In those early times, they could have come the furthest from some part or parts on the Persian Gulf in close touch with the Chaldean civilization. The Āryans occasionally allied themselves with the Parthians and Persians in their internal civil wars, thus establishing connecting links with Chaldea by land. Passing down into Western India the Āryans formed with the aboriginal tribes a mixed population, a result which could have been brought about if only the local tribes were civilized like or nearly as much as the Āryans. The people south of Goa or Gokarn were left almost intact in their race and language—the conquering Āryans being completely absorbed among the Dravidians. They had attained a high degree of civilization and while imbibing much from the Āryans allowed the Āryans to absorb as much if not more from themselves. Taking thus into consideration the various degrees of combination and admixture, between the Āryan and non-Āryans in India, we might conclude that they are indebted to one another for much that is good and evil in their civilization. Another feature to be noted in our racial formation is the introduction of the Scythian element in the people of Gujarat and Rajputana, about the beginning of the Christian era But it does not appear that the Scythian settlement in India affected much the coast people of Mekran, Sind and Kutch. These coast people have produced the most enterprising sailors on the Arabian Sea and have for centuries held their own in maritime enterprises to Arabia, the Persian Gulf, the Malabar

Coast and Africa. They still retain the spirit of the old Phœnicians, who are supposed to have commanded the seas in the East as well as the West in ancient times. Are then the Kutch, Sindh and Mekran's sailors the descendants of the once famous sailors of the ancient times? Are they Hamitic by race as were the Phœnicians? Do the Draviḍians of Southern India belong to the same race?

In answering these questions, we cannot venture into any original research, but have to rely upon the research and study of others. "The connection", writes the author of *Vedic India* (The Story of Nations Series), "between the Draviḍians of Northern and Western India and the First Babylonian Empire—the Babylonians of Shumero-Accad, before the Advent of the Semites—becomes less surprising when we realize that there was between them something of more than chance relations, that they were in fact of the same race or stock, that which is broadly designated as "Turanian." The same view is urged by Mr. J. M. Kennedy in a learned article "*Early Commerce of Babylon with India*" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*—1898. The theory is discussed also elsewhere* and finds acceptance among a number of Hindu scholars. The racial connection between the Persian Gulf and the Indian peoples is traced not only through the commercial intercourse that must have existed from ancient times, but from the influences of Babylonian on Indian civilization that can be clearly traced. There was evidently a mutual exchange of ideas and things, which it is believed was brought about through the non-Āryan tribes in Western and Southern India, who had been in close touch with the Ionians. The community of race, language and religion as well as commercial interests between the races of the Persian Gulf and Western India is thus a subject deserving thorough research and investigation which I hope these notes will help to stimulate the readers.

* For recent contributions, *vide The East and West*, 1905, pp. 828-37 and *The Tamilian Antiquary* No. 1,—1908 pp. 1-9.

Representative Institutions in Southern India One Thousand Years Ago.

BY

MR. T. PONNAMBALAM PILLAI, M. R. A. S.

At a time when extension of self-government is in contemplation and the Popular Assemblies of Mysore and Travancore are objects of admiration, it may be interesting to learn that Representative Institutions were not unknown in ancient India about thousand years ago. These became most apparent in Village Government and the system was most prevalent amongst the non-āryan races. Dr. Rhys Davids gives, in his *Buddhist India*, some account of autonomous committees in Northern India before the time of Buḍḍha (Sixth Century B.C.) which seem to have managed their affairs by either mass meetings of the folk, or elected representatives or by means of annually elected office-bearers. There is also a strong probability that the quinquennial or triennial assemblies mentioned by Aśōka in one of his edicts and which met during his reign at the chief cities of the various provinces under the presidency of the Viceroys and other Governors were assemblies of the representatives of the people. The meetings of these assemblies appear to have been occasions when the will of the King that the people should be governed well, was proclaimed and opportunities offered to the subjects to bring forward their grievances before their sovereign. These I believe are the nearest approaches in ancient times to the modern Popular Assemblies.

It is generally supposed that there were sixty-four republics in Kēraḷam which I believe were commercial towns

or cantons. There are relics of the system even at this moment. Almost every temple under private management is controlled by a committee called Ūrāṇmaikārs. The term may mean either "the rulers of the village" or "the manly few of the village." Whatever may be the interpretation put upon it,—it means government by the leading men of the place. Again every *tharai* or the division of a village has its own organization for the proper administration of its common funds. I am aware that even law suits are conducted with the aid of such funds under the control of the office bearers for the time being. The Brahmin Samājams are conducted with greater care and regularity than any other. The property at their disposal is enormous, and the great attention paid in managing it, is quite warranted by the circumstances. The election of office-bearers is annual and it would become invalid if it did not take place on a particular day of the year and at an appointed place after the performance of a certain feast.

The Nāṭṭukōṭṭai Cheṭṭies, the enterprising Bankers of Southern India, have their council of elders to manage their affairs without having recourse to the aid of Civil Authorities in all ordinary matters concerning their every day life. Each Nāṭṭukōṭṭai Village has its own council and there is also a representative one for all such villages. All disputes arising from property, including monetary transactions and questions concerning caste observances and practices are disposed of by mass meetings which go by the name of "Nagaram". The execution of the orders of these councils is very simple. The refractory parties are either boycotted or out-casted and nobody shall dare disobey them. But it is to be regretted that with the coming of better times the Cheṭṭy is deteriorating. He is beginning to pay no regard to the time-honoured rules by which his clan was kept together, trying to rush into Law Courts and prove to be litigious.

The annual reports on the Archæological Survey of

India issued at the instance of that generous Government throw a flood of light on the subject. There is enough of material to show that Representative institutions existed in Southern India during the ninth century A. D.; and it is not yet time to say that they did not exist anterior to it. This is generally apparent in the arrangements made for village administration. The same system must of course have extended to Towns and districts. From the information available, it is seen that the system prevailed in the districts of Tinnevelly and South Arcot, which happened to be ruled by one and the same king during the tenth century. From this, it may be safely inferred that the system of representative Government was in vogue from Kāḷāstry to Cape Comorin as the country lying between the points was ruled by that king.

During the early part of the tenth century A. D., the following Representative Committees appear to have been formed at Uttramallūr, close to Madurānthakam, in the South Arcot district, viz,

(1) Committee for the Supervision of Justice.
(2) Annual Committee.
(3) Garden Committee.
(4) Tank Committee.
(5) Pañjavāra Committee.
(6) Gold Committee.

The consitution of the Commitees was framed and promulgated under two Royal Charters issued by the Chōḷa king Paranthaka I, at two public meetings convened with the aid of a special representative sent from his court. The proceedings were open to the public and a memorandum of the same was drawn up and signed by a permanent arbitrator or assessor appointed for the locality.

In the information referred to nothing is said about the first of the Committees viz, the Board of Justices or Bench of Magistrates. It has therefore to be presumed

that their appointments were made direct from the seat of Government. One of their chief extra judicial functions was the convening of the meetings for the annual election of members for the several other Committees.

The duties of the Annual Committees are not quite evident but it is possible to gather that the members exercised control over the remaining Committees. The Garden and Pañjavāra (பஞ்சவார) Committees appear to have performed the functions of Revenue Settlement and the collection of tax. The former dealt only with garden lands and therefore the tax was collected in money. The latter dealt with lands on which wet and dry grains were raised. The tax on those lands must have been in kind as the term Pañjavāram (or one-fiith of the produce) indicates, or both in kind and money. The Tank Committee dealt not only with the annual repairs and the removal of silt as pointed out by Mr. V. Veṅkayya, but also with the distribution of water. The Gold Committte subsequently referred to must have dealt with hard cash in addition to currency as suggested by Mr. Veṅkayya. It may be of inerest to remark here that the bulk of the coin at the time we are speaking of was in gold, as has been conclusively proved by Mr. Reṅgasvāmi Iyeṅgār of H. H. Mahārājā College, Trivandrum, that silver was scarce. For the same reason the chief coin went by the name of *Pon* or Gold as in the case of rupee at present.

The following were the qualifications to be possessed by the candidates who desired to be elected to the Committees.

(1) That each candidate should own more than a quarter of a vêli of land. This condition would not be pressed in the case of one who was so learned in the Vedas and conversant with one of their Commentaries as to be able to impart instruction to others.

(2) That he should live in a house built on his own site.
(3) That he should be between the ages of 35 and 70.
(4) That he must be virtuous and possess a pure mind.
(5) That he must be a man of business.
(6) That he must possess honest earnings.

Any of the following would disqualify a person from being a member of any Committee.

(1) The fact of having been in one of the Committees within the last three years.

(2) The failure to render accounts while on a Committee.

(3) The fact of being the near or dear relation of the defaulter referred to above.

(4) The fact of having been guilty of incest or other offences.

(5) The fact of associating with low people.

(6) The fact of taking forbidden food or drink.

(7) The fact of being a village bully.

(8) The fact of having ridden an ass.

Now to the rules of election. The village of Uttramallūr was divided into twelve Series (சேரி) and into thirty wards or Kuḍumbus (குடும்பு) and each of the latter was represented by a member on one or other of the Committees.

As a preliminary step to selection the names of each of the qualified candidates were written on a bit of palmyra leaf. Then the slips of each of the ward would be bundled up together with a covering memo. Next all the bundles would be put into a new pot and put in charge of some defined authority.

The date of the meeting for the selection of members would be duly announced and all the male residents of the village both young and old would be invited to be present on the occasion. The meeting generally took place in the chief temple of the place which had sufficient accomodation. Before the proceedings commenced all the people took their

seats in the outer-hall, the inner (hall) being reserved for the temple priest. Next the oldest of them (priests) held up the pot containing the slips so as to be seen by all assembled. The convener would then call upon a boy amongst them to take one of the bundles from the pot and have it transferred to an empty pot after untying it. This vessel would then be well-shaken and the same boy would be asked to take out of it one slip. It would be handed over to the arbitrator, who would receive it on the palm of his right hand with all the fingers open. He would then read out the name on the slip distinctly so as to be heard by the assembled and pass it on to the priests who would also read it in a loud tone one after another. The name would then be recorded and the person named would be accepted as the representative of a particular ward. In the same way selections by the casting of lot would be made for the remainning 29 wards.

It must be noted here that up to this stage the nomination of the 30 members was by selection. The appointment of the members of the particular Committees however was by election. Out of the thirty members thus selected twelve of the most respected and advanced in years and culture and of those who had done yeoman service on the Garden and Tank Committees on previous occasions, would be elected by the votes (Karai) of their peers. Of the remaining 18, twelve would be elected for the Garden Committee and the six left would make the Tank Committee.

A similar system was adopted for the selection of the Pañjavāra and Gold Committees. Out of another thirty members only twelve were elected. Of these six went to form the Pañjavāra Committee and the remaining six the Gold Committee. The unrepresented wards would have their turn by rotation during the following years.

The village accountantship was an honorary office and men of character and means only were selected to fill it up.

Though the appointments were annual, people already in office might be reappointed provided that they punctually closed up their accounts and did not leave their work to others.

It may be remarked in passing that the restriction that is now enforced with regard to the study of the Vedas did not exist one thousand years ago.

Pura Nānūru — The 400 Lyrics.

LAMENTS. 610344

TRANSLATED BY

MR. K. G. SESHA AIYAR, B. A., B. L.

I. A DIRGE.

The lament given below forms No. 242 of *Puranānūru*, a collection of 400 lyrics in Tamil, the historical importance of which cannot be over-estimated. They are for the most part songs sung by court minstrels and other bards in honour of ancient Kings and chieftains of South India. In this lyric the poet, Kudavāyil Nallāthanār, mourns the death of Perum-çhāttan, the chief of Ollaiyūr. He was evidently a powerful warrior and a liberal patron of poets and minstrels. His death has called forth another beautiful lyric No. 243 which is by Thodithalai Viluthandinār. It deals with the evanescence of youth.

No. 242.

இளையோர் சூடார் ; வளையோர் கொய்யார் ;
நல்லியாழ் மருப்பின் மெல்ல வாங்கிப்
பாணன் சூடான் ; பாடினி அணியாள் ;
ஆண்மை தோன்ற ஆடவர்க் கடந்த
வல்வேற் சாத்தன் மாய்ந்த பின்றை,
முல்லையும் ! பூத்தியோ ? ஒல்லையூர் நாட்டே

No more brave youths sweet garlands wear :
  Fair damsels gather flow'rs no more ;
Nor decks herself in gay attire
  Nor sings the songstress as before ;
And bards forget with wreaths to twine
  Their lyres from whence erstwhile had flowed
Enchanting music and divine,
  Whose dulcet strains with feeling glowed.

For C'ĀTTAN 's dead. His princely hand
  No more on friends rare gifts bestows;
Nor wields the spear that through the land
  Had havoc wrought among his foes.
Great C'ĀTTAN 's dead. His might and skill
  In peace and war unequalled shone.
O jasmine! dost thou flourish still
  In OLLIAYUR now C'ĀTTAN 's gone?

II. YOUTH AND OLD AGE.

No. 243.

இனி நினைந் திரக்க மாகின்று! திணிமணற்
செய்வுறு பாவைக்குக் கொய்பூத் தைஇ,
தண்கயம் ஆடு மகளிரொடு கைபிணைந்து,
தழுவு வழித் தழீஇத், தூங்கு வழித் தூங்கி,
மறையெனல் அறியா மாயமில் ஆயமொடு'
உயர்சினை மருதத் துறையுறத் தாழ்ந்து
நீர் நணிப் படிகோ டேறிச், சீர்மிகக்,
கரையவர் மருளத், திரையகம் பிதிர,
நெடுநீர்க் குட்டத்துத் துடுமெனப் பாய்ந்து,
குளித்து மணற்கொண்ட கல்லா இளமை
அளிதோ தானே!! யாண்டுண்டு கொல்லோ?.
தொடித்தலை விழுத்தண் டூன்றி நடுக்குற்'
இருமிடை மிடைந்த சிலசொற்
பெருமூ தாளரேம் ஆகிய எமக்கே!

The days when life was young, those sportive days
When with loose river-sand I used to make
Droll forms and deck them with fantastic wreaths
Of flowers, when from o'erhanging boughs I plunged
Headlong into the sparkling waters cool
Of mountain lakes, and on the green-sward danced,
Hand linked in hand, with little maidens fair,
—A joyous band all innocent of guile—
How oft on those departed days I muse
With tender sadness! 'Neath th' o'erspreading shade

Of myrtle green which filled the country round
With odoriferous perfume, I plunged,
Throwing the waters round, and diving deep
Rose with my hands filled with the glistening sand
As trophy from the bottom of the lake,
Then climbed th' o'erhanging boughs of sturdy trees
That lined the shore, whereon in wonderment
Stood my companions witnessing my deed.
Those happy days of youth so free from care
Ah! whither have they fled? It is too sad
That now with trembling hands I should my staff
Grasp for support, and panting go about
With worn and feeble limbs: for I am OLD.

III. A CHERAMAN'S LAMENT FOR HIS QUEEN.

No. 245.

யாங்குப் பெரிதாயினும் நோயளவ்' எனைத்தே ?
உயிர் செகுக் கல்லா மதுகைத்த்' அன்மையில் !
கள்ளி போகிய களரியம் பறந்தலை
வெள்ளிடைப் பொத்திய விளைவிற கீமத்த்'
ஒள்ளழற் பள்ளிப் பாயல் சேர்த்தி,
ஞாங்கர் மாய்ந்தனள் மடவாள் !
இன்னும் வாழ்வல் ! என்னிதன் பண்பே ?

"What charm hath life henceforth for me?"
The king in his breavement cried.
"My queen, how fair and sweet was she!
The innocent of soul hath died.
My swelling sorrow knows no bound.
Alas! like to the common dead
I bore her to the burning ground
Where nought but spiny cactus spread.
A heap of fuel there arrayed
Stood smould'ring her remains to claim;
With cruel hands my queen I laid
Upon her couch of rising flame.

My queen hath left me. Like the sea
Though deep and surging is my grief,
It has no strength, alas! to me
From hated life to bring relief.
Would that grim death had come to me!
The fairest queen on earth is dead!
The nectar of my life was she!
Ah, wherefore hath my angel fled?"

IV. A DISCONSOLATE PAṆḌIYAN QUEEN.

No. 246.

பல் சான்றீரே! பல் சான்றீரே!
செல்கெனச் சொல்லாத்' ஒழிகென விலக்கும்
பொல்லாச் சூழ்ச்சிப் பல்சான்றீரே!
அணில்வரிக் கொடுங்காய் வாள்போழ்ந் திட்ட
காழ்போல் நல்விளர் நறுநெய் தீண்டாத்'
அடையிடைக் கிடந்த கைபிழி பிண்டம்
வெள் எட் சாந்தொடு புளிப்பெய்த்' அட்ட
வேளை வெந்தை வல்சி யாகப்,
பரற்பெய் பள்ளிப் பாயின்று வதியும்
உயவற் பெண்டிரேம் அல்லேம். மாதோ!
பெருங்காட்டுப் பண்ணிய கருங்கோட் டீமம்
நுமக்கரி தாகுக ; தில்ல! எமக்கெம்
பெருந்தோட் கணவன் மாய்ந்தென, அரும்பற
வள்ளிதழ் அவிழ்ந்த தாமரை
நள்ளிரும் பொய்கையும் தீயும் ஓர் அற்றே.

Ye sages all! Ye great and wise!
Why would ye us from death restrain?
Your counsel, learned men, is vain.
Lo! dead our much loved consort lies.
Ye bid us not go forth to die!
Think ye we care to live forlorn,
And in the weeds by widow worn
On bare and rugged stones to lie?

On sumptuous couch we used to sleep!
Here where our feasts in splendour shone
Shall we on bitter herbs alone
Keep us and nurse our sorrow deep?
What terror lies in yon dark pyre
On burning ground so grimly raised?
Our bed is where our spouse is graced;
By right we seek his couch of fire.
Fond friends! we stay not here alone!
To us, whose mighty spouse is dead,
The waters of the lake where spread
The lotus-blooms and fire are one!

V. A WIFE'S LAMENT FOR HER DYING HUSBAND.

No. 255.

The following lyric which appears as No. 255, in PURA-NĀNŪRU belongs to a batch that relates to the practice of *Sati*. It is interesting to note that though from the PURA-NĀNŪRU we could easily see that *Sati* was frequent, in no case does it appear that the wife was forced to burn herself on the funeral pyre with her deceased husband. Indeed in the PURA-NĀNŪRU we find Brahmans are spoken of as striving to prevent *Sati*, and one remarkable instance is from PURA-NĀNŪRU under the title of *A Disconsolate Pāṇḍiyan Queen* (P. N. N. 246) *Vide supra*. That lyric records the out burst of over-exalted feeling from the despairing Queen of Bhūta Pāṇḍiyan, who would not be dissuaded from self-immolation on her royal husband's funeral pyre even by the earnest and insistent expostulations of the Brahmans and her own kindered. There is an impression that *Sati* is a Brahmanical idea, and that the practice of it was forced on the people by the Brahman priesthood; and it is also often said that there is no mention of *Sati* in Indian literature before the sixth century of the Christian era. The lyrics in the PURA-NĀNŪRU, however, tell a different tale.

The present lyric is a lament by a wife for her husband who lies dying on a field of battle. It is a very small poem of just six lines; but it possesses in the original Tamil extreme pathos and beauty. The writer is said to be VAN PARAṈAR (வன்பரணர்) who is different from the well-known ancient Tamil poet, PARAṈAR, of whom every Tamil student has heard. They appear, however, to have been contemporaries. They were both recipients of gifts from Vêḷ ĀVI KŌ PERUM PEGAN (the great King Pēgan of family of Āvi), a very well-known literary Maecenas of ancient Tamiḷagam. Pēgan was the lord of Pothini—the modern Palni—in the Madura district, and his unstinted liberality attracted bards from far and near to his Court. He was a contemporary of C'enkuṭṭuvan, known C'ēra King, in whose honour Paraṇar has sung the fifth Canto of *Pathirṟu-Pattu* (பதிற்றுப்பத்து), and of Neḍuñçeḷiyan, the celebrated hero of *Neḍunal-vāḍai* by Nakīrar and *Madurai-Kāñji* by Marutanār and of many lyrics in Puṟa-Nānūṟu by various poets. NEDUN-C'ELIYAN succeeded UGRA PERU VALUDI on the Pāṇḍiyan throne; and I have maintained elsewhere * that we shall be safe in assigning UGRA PERU VALUDI to the beginning of the first century after Christ. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Paṇḍit V. Svāminātha Aiyar of the Presidency College, Madras, says in his introduction to his scholarly edition of *Pathirṟu Pattu* that Pêgan, Thagaḍūr-erintha-perum-Chêral-irumpoṟai and Ugra-Peru-Vaḷudi were contemporaries. Thagaḍūr-erintha-perum-Chêral-irumpoṟai is the hero of the eighth Canto or Section of *Pathirṟu Pattu* by Arisil Kiḷar, who has also sung the praise of Pêgan. We see from *Pathirṟu Pattu* that Thagaḍūr-erintha-perum-Chêral-irum-poṟai's mother was the daughter of Vêḷ Āvi Kō, the first or founder of the line to which Pêgan belonged; and we see from *Chilappathikāram* that Vêḷ Āvi Kō lived anterior to the date of that great epic which belongs to the second century of the Christian era.

* *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. II., p. 482, "The Date of Tiruvaḷḷuvar."

Thus Pegan probably lived in the latter half of the first century, and consequeuently it follows that Van Paraṇar, the author of the lyric given below, belonged to the close of the first or the beginning of the second century after Christ. This is the period of the Third Saṅgam, the Augustan age of Tamil literature.

ஐயோ ! எனின் யான், புலி யஞ்சுவலே !
அணைத்தனன் கொளினே அகன்மார் பெடுக்க வல்லேன் !
என்போற் பெருவிதிர்ப் புறுக நின்னை
இன்னு உற்ற அறனில் கூற்றே ;
நிரைவளை முன்கை பற்றி
வரைநிழற் சேர்க : நடத்திசிற் சிறிதே.

Woe, woe is me! In this dire field of gore,
By cruel death assailed, my husband lies!
His shoulders broad avail him now no more,
To avert his end, than woman's tears or sighs!
Gladly would I my stalwart hero bear,
Had I but strength, from this foul field away.
To cry aloud for help I may not dare,
Lest I attract the prowling beasts of prey
Yet grasp my hand; to yonder mountain side,
Wooded and cool, I'll guide thee though alone.
How shake my feeble limbs! To thee betide,
Relentless death, such trembling as my own!

Serpent Worship in India.*

BY

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Of the numerous variety of objects that have struck the primitive Indian mind with a sense of awe-inspiring wonderment and led in time to active propitiation and worship, the serpent seems to have demanded a large attention. All worship grew out of fear and is born of man's terror of the great and mysterious natural agencies by which he is surrounded. We know the anthropomorphic tendency which seems innate in the human mind, in its dealings with the unknown, has led the primitive Aryans to frequently personify the more obovious natural forces. Of these the most important is the Sun, the author of light and heat, which has been personified and deified under many names. In the Ṛig Veda we read of the Storm-myth, the Sun-And-Dawn-Myth etc., which led to the introduction of ths gods Varuṇa, Sūrya, Indra, Agni and others. The worship of fire, sometimes allied to sun-worship, sometimes different from it, repesents the deification of anothor natural force. Similarly other objects in nature, grand, solemn and awe-inspiring such as large rivers, lofty mountains, deep springs, gigantic trees and frightful and dangerous animals have been reverenced and, worshipped by primitive man *mainly* with a view to ensure his safety from the terrible evils they may inflict. It is thus the serpent in India seems to have come in for a share of the early Indian's worship. "The serpent tribe is perhaps more numerous in India than in any other country, and the most poisonous varieties seem

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to have congregated there. The openness of the dwellings imperatively demanded by the climate and the vast numbers of people sleeping in the open air, in groves, forests, gardens etc., give them chances of which they make but too good use, swarming in the gardens and seeking shelter in the houses during the rainy season. As a consequence death from snake-bite almost equals an epidemic." No wonder then the crude uncivilised Indian of the early ages was horrified at the sight of the venomous reptile and hastened to adopt the common resource then available, namely, of raising it to the dignity of a deity and propitiating it by the offering of prayer and sacrifices, much in the same way in which the fire-god,the sun-god and the storm-god were reverenced. It was thus the fear of the poisonous fang of the hooded snake that raised it to the level of the deity in the Indian mind and led the way for its introduction into his complex mythology and daily worship as well as into the shrines and temples of Hinduism.

The relics of this once powerful cult of serpent worship are found to exist at the present day in several parts of India, while the actual worship itself is still surviving in parts of the country among certain classes of people. Though it may be hard to find now-a-days in the large and important towns and cities any sign of a festival exclusively devoted to the serpent, it is in small villages, hamlets and country places that we perceive the lingering worship in full force to-day. It is needless to say that every one would have observed an Indian village contain invariably a temple either big or small, a bathing ghat very often attached to the river or the village tank and a meeting place or village platform erected of stones and square in size with one or two sacred trees planted therein which keep the platform shady throughout the day. These square platforms are found to exist sometimes near the temple, but invariably in the vicinity of the river or the tank. These platforms are the

common unofficial meeting places and form an important factor in the Indian village life. For it is here that the village servants meet the headman in the mornings and take his directions, the ploughmen will find their land-lord, the village priests perform their morning and evening ablutions, and the village school-master airs his grievances. It is here also that the village scandal takes its birth and shape. In such a place, at the foot of the trees planted therein, you will invariably find a number of stone images planted, some new and some worn out with age. The kindly ladies of the village who go to the tank or river anoint these stones with oil and wash them with milk and water. If you examine what these stones represent you will find the image of serpents carved out in them, sometimes a single serpent—the deadly cobra with its hood fully expanded—and sometimes double serpents twisting together and serpents with five heads etc. Such stone images of serpents are by no means restricted to one place. These stones are also found at times single, but very often in large numbers, planted at the sides of tanks and by the stone steps of bathing places in rivers. Wherever there is a pipal tree or a pipal and a morgossa, there also you are sure to find several stone images of serpents planted all round the trunk of the trees. Besides, at the entrance to every temple, on the stone pillars and walls, at the portico and in fact at every nook and corner of a Hindu shrine the images of serpents are to be seen. In the massive wooden cars belonging to these temples as well as in the several wooden *vahanas*, the serpent's image is found to be carved. Even in these isolated places the serpent receives its due honours of anointment and oblation.

It may be said that there are two different kinds of offering worship to the serpent. Although both of them are mainly directed towards the same object—*viz.*, the serpent, still in the aim of such worship as well as in the mode or manner

of performing the worship they materially differ from one another. They are (1) the worship of the image of the serpent and (2) that of the live serpent. In the case of the worship of the image, the serpent is no longer considered as a fearful and awe-inspiring object, although it is certain that this form of worship might have been the natural development of the adoration of the living reptile for ages, which must of course be the direct result of man's fear and horror towards it. It is well known how the cenception of the deity as an all-powerful benign agency, ready to help and save mankind is altogether a later development in the evolution of the idea of God. The serpent is here regarded as the symbol of the creative power, the regenerative force—altogether a peaceful agency, due propitiation of which is necessary for man if he wants to be blessed with peace and plenty, with offsprings and their virtue. It is not exactly known how the serpent came to be invested with such a conception, but it is certain that the idea has taken such a strong root in the Indian mind that matrons and maidens regard the serpent even to this day as a sacred object of worship to save themselves from the curse of barrenness.

The first kind of worship, therefore, finds great favour with the gentler sex. Wherever the images of serpents are found, near the tanks, rivers and temples, troops of beautiful maidens can be seen in the mornings, after their bath, pouring water over these images, washing them with milk and presenting the usual offerings of cocoanut etc. They are enjoined to continue the worship for a period of 40 days. Every day they are to go round the images as well as the trees under which they are placed a certain fixed number of times, with flowers in their hands which they drop one by one before or on the image, each time they complete one round. It is devoutly believed that the result of the worship will be the presentation of an offspring within another year. And if by chance any lady

is blessed with a child, she immediately takes care to set up a stone image of a serpent and thus adds one more to the already existing number of images. The same worship has been gradually developed into an important sacrifice and a complicated system of rites with authorised rules (mantras) has grown round it. The *Nāgapūjā*, as it is called, has received holy sanction and is now performed in lieu of the *Aśvamedha* and the *Putrakāmeshṭi* of the vedic period. A golden image is fashioned of the hooded cobra, as the king of the serpents, offerings are made to it by both the husband and the wife in strict accordance with the rules, under the supervision of a sanskrit priest, and finally when the ceremony is over, the golden image is presented to the priest. This *pūjā* is likewise performed with the same object of obataining children; but being more costly in its nature generally obtains only among the more wealthy classes.

The other kind of worship in which the living serpent is adored persists even to this day and is comparatively rarer in the southern parts of India than the northern. It is found to exist all over the West Coast and especially in Malabar. 'They (the Nagas,)' says Zenaide A. Ragozin, in her *Vedic India*, "play an important part, too, in modern Hinduism, which has instituted a yearly festival in honour, not of mythical serpents, but of the real, live snakes, which do not appear to strike this apathetic people with a loathing and terror at all proportionate to the havoc they play with human life. This festival which comes round towards the end of July, is of a decidedly propitiatory character. Pilgrims flock to the Nega shrines which abound in certain districts; the cities teem with snake—charmers, whose weired charges eagerly crawl around the pans with milk placed at intervals on the ground in all the principal thoroughfares, before the admiring eyes of a devout and festive throng." In some parts, the earthern mounds and holes which form the usual habititions of these venomous

creatures are sought for and offerings like milk, eggs, fresh-killed chicken, rats and animal blood are left near their mouth so that their crawling inmates may satisfy their appetite in leisure. This kind of propitiation is certainly the outcome of horror for the envenomed double-tongued reptile. It is also said that in certain old houses and dwellings there are to be found snakes,—often cobras,—and the inhabitants regard them in the light of guardian angels and would not molest them for all the world, but would worship and reverence them in the same manner believing the safety and weal of the family to depend upon those of the household-snake (மனைப்பாம்பு). It is also believed that the cobra is the highest class of the serpent and is called the Brahmin serpent and as such is regarded as incapable of inflicting wanton injury upon others.

There are certain curious stories of snakes found current in the folk-lore of the country. Aged snakes of a certain variety are supposed to contain in their heads a priceless gem of dazzling brilliancy called the *Nāgaratna* which is endowed with several virtues. The serpent is represented as leaving it on the ground and searching its prey in the light thrown out by the gem and again swallowing it back. Several legends and adventures have grown round this philosopher's stone and the attempts to discover and take possession of it. Holy temples and sacred shrines are supposed to be the habitation of some virtuous serpent and it would be amounting to sacrilege to attempt to kill or remove them, as the holiness of the temple is attributed to the presence of the monster. Again they are represented as exhibiting a motherly tenderness and solicitude towards orphan children cast away in the forests and bringing them up with an incredible amount of care and kindness. Thus, one folk-song speaks of the beneficent hood that screens the countenance of the forlorn infant from the heat of the sun and another makes mention of the babe fed by

milk procured by the wood-serpent and lulled to sleep by its sweet lullaby. There have been several heroes and demi-gods figuring in the annals of the country thus miraculously brought up in their infancy. But, though a great deal should be dismissed as mere poetic imagery and idle fancy, yet there is no doubt that a glimpse is obtained into the attitude of the people who came to regard the serpent as an emblem of kindness and beneficence.

There is one important point to be considered in connection with he serpent in India and it is the examination of the origin of the adoration of the venomous reptile with reference to the early races that settled in India. The interesting question whether the serpent was primarily the symbol of the Āryan or Dravidian races is discussed by Zenaide A. Ragozin in her *Vedic India* and the following extract from her valuable work will be read with interest. "The most essential feature of it (Dravidian relegion) is the worship of the Earth, in the form of both god and goddess, as the giver and maintainer of life and the adoration of the snake as the Earth-god's special emblem. The snake-god or king of snakes is the wise and gigantic serpent *Shesh*—a name which casts a singularly vivid sidelight on one of the many puzzles with which the Ṛig Vẹda still teems. In several of those passages in which the priestly poets exhaust their ingenuity inventing abusive epithets for their Dasyu foes, they call them with scathing contempt, *Shishna-devas*, literally, 'whose God is Shishna or Shesh.' The inference suggests itself almost irresistibly, and moreover leads us to suspect that many a passage wherein serpents and dragon-monsters are mentioned, may have a more direct and realistic meaning than was hitherto supposed. Thus, with regard to the ever-recurring battle between Indra and Ahi, 'the serpent,' invariably ending with the Aryan champion-god's victory, we cannot help asking ourselves: have we really *always* to do with a nature-myth? is the battle only

an incident of the atmospheric drama and is the Serpent always and inevitably a cloud-serpent? By the light of later ethnological studies, another and even simpler interpretation lies temptingly near: may not the serpent sometimes personate the serpent-god of the snake-worshippers—the *Shishna-devas*—and the battle between the Aryan champion god and the Dasyu sacred emblem thus resolve itself into a poetical version of the long race-strife? It is certain, at all events, that, in the enthusiasm and novelty of recent discovery, the mythical interpretation has been greatly overdone, and just as the word 'Dasyu' which was at first declared to designate only the demons (of darkness, drought or winter) whom the bright *devas* fought is proved to apply quite as often to earthly human foes, so the cloud-serpent of the uncompromising myth theory may very well turn out to be, quite frequently, an allegorical presentation of the object of those foes' superstitious adoration. * * * Be that as it may, it is certain that snake-worship, utterly an-Aryan as it is, made a profound impression on the white invaders, so much so, that in the course of time, an Aryan snake-god—Ariaka—was invented; an impression plainly discernible, too, in the prominent place given to the Nāgas (snakes and snake-people, half human, half serpentine in form and possessed of supernatural wisdom) in the later classical poetry." From this it is clear that the author of *Vedic India* would have us believe that the serpent is primarily the Dravidian symbol and that the Aryans only borrowed it. In another place also she says that, "it is worthy of notice: first that temples dedicated to serpents are not found in the North of India; second that the priests of such temples are never Brahmans, but belong to the lowest castes. Indeed the old Aryan spirit is so much alive still in the noble castes that they hold the serpent to be of evil omen and a Brāhman, if he happens to see one in the morning, will give up for that day whatever work or errand he may have on hand."

Before proceeding to examine the reasonableness or otherwise of this theory of Madam Ragozin's we shall see what is the position accorded to the serpent in the mythologies, purāṇas, classical and mædieval literatures of both the races—Āryan and Draviḍian. In the Āryan cosmogony as sketched out in the several purāṇas it it explained that the earth is borne on the head of an immense serpent called *Ādišesha* and the phenomenon of earthquake is attributed to the bearer of the universe changing shoulders. Next in the myth relating to the *Kūrma* avatar of Vishṇu—decidedly an Āryan story—the serpent Vāsuki is said to have lent its services for the churning of the Amṛita. Again in the story of Śiva's destruction of Tiripura it is likewise a serpent that served him as the string for his bow. In these three ancient myths which are unquestionably of Āryan origin, the serpent plays no mean part,—in fact but for its help the Āryan Gods themselves would have been powerless. In later times the snake becomes the important ornament of God Śiva and is elevated to the inseparable companionship of the deity. It is also associated with the phallic emblem of linga under which that god is worshipped. The parallel holds good in Vaishṇavism also, and the serpent serves as mattress for Vishnu. The ceremony called *Nāgapūjā* which we have already described is essentially an Āryan ceremony as it finds a place among Aryan rites and the rules prescribed for its performance form part of the Šanskrit *mantras*. *The Great War* tells us that the serpent was the emblem of one of the most powerful races of kings in the North of India called the Kurus and their representative, Duriyodana, appears in battle with the sign of the snake in his flag. Who were the Nāgas? One of the rishis, Kasyapa married two sisters. The elder Kadru became the mother of a thousand Nāgas (snakes). Were these Draviḍians and their story of Draviḍian origin? In later Sanskrit literature the snake appears again (cf. *Nāgānanda*) and we perceive

none of the so called loathsomeness of the Āryans towards the reptile. In fact, at every stage of the development of Āryan religion, mythology and literature the serpent is nowhere forgotten, but is assigned a clear and correspondingly important position which becomes more and more difficult to ignore.

On the other hand, early Draviḍian literature which was assiduously cultivated in the South, independent of Āryan influence, for centuries before even Sanskrit attained to any literary grace (as is now fully believed by numerous oriental scholars and Philologists) does not contain any mention of the serpent whatever, either favourable or unfavourable. In fact the serpent is conspicuous by its absence from early Draviḍian annals. The religion and forms of worship that obtain at present among the Draviḍian races as well as the mythology now current among them are not of indegenous growth, but wholly borrowed from the Āryans: and consequently it is useless to expect to glean anything from them as regards the Draviḍian's attitude towards the serpent. The early Draviḍian gods mentioned in their literature are Muruga and Piḷḷaiyār, (பிள்ளையார்) "god the son," the former their favourite war-god and the latter, their god of peace and plenty. The serpent is nowhere mentioned as an accessory to these gods, unlike the Āryan Śiva and Vishṇu: nor is any mention found of independent serpent worship. Even the relics of demon worship, now found here and there, which are in all probability, the surviving remains of Draviḍian barbarism, do not give a place to the adoration of the serpent in any form, either alive or its image. The powerful Draviḍian Sovereigns who established independent kingdoms in the South—namely the Pāṇḍiyas, the Choḷas and the Cheras—had none of them the serpent as their royal emblem. The Fish, the Tiger and the Bow were the celebrated emblems of the pure Draviḍian kings and it would be more reasonable and appropriate to regard the Fish as the sacred and

venerated emblem of the whole Draviḍian race instead of the serpent. If the Draviḍians were Earth-worshippers and if the serpent were regarded by them as the symbol of the earth, as Madam Ragozin represents, would it be possible to conceive that one and all of the numerous branches of the Draviḍian stock neglected the serpent and even ignored it from their religion, worship, literature and regal emblem?

How then does Madam Ragozin seem to be so very positive in holding that serpent worship is essentially a Draviḍian feature? In the midst of over-whelming evidences as to the gradual growth of the importance of the serpent in Āryan religion, mythology and literature and in the absence of any mention whatever of the serpent in Draviḍian records, it is more than difficult to believe that the learned author of the *Vedic India* may be altogether right in her conclusions. The fact seems to be that the writer perceived a number of evidences jointly conclusive of an early connection having existed between the Draviḍians of India and the Shumiro-Accads of the first Babylonian empire—connections for the most part of maritime intercourse, established and strengthened by subsequent discoveries in the fields of Philology and Craniology. And hence in her anxiety and enthusiasm to find other traces of connection and supply the missing links she imposed the serpent-worship upon the Draviḍians and thus managed to discover one more strong evidence of an early Draviḍo-Accadian connection. She has nowhere tried to prove that the Draviḍians regarded the serpent sacred as an emblem of the Earth; but has merely assumed that, in as much as the other evidences point unmistakably towards an early connection having existed between the two races, the most sacred symbol of the Accadians must also be taken as such of the early Draviḍians. Accordingly she writes: "But even more convincing is the common sacred symbol—the serpent, the emblem of the worship of Earth, with its mystery, its wealth and its forces. The Accadian

supreme god Ea was worshipped at his holiest shrine at Eridhu under the form of a serpent and as Eridhu was the centre form which the first Chaldean civilisation started and spread, so the serpent-symbol was accepted as that of the race and its religion." This only goes to prove that the serpent was regarded as a sacred symbol by the Shumiro-Accads, but does not help us to saddle the very symbol upon the Draviḍians, who, as shown above, only seem to have borrowed, late in their social development, the worship of the serpent from their Āryan brothers along with their religion, social systems, sacrifices and ceremonies.

But the most important point in Madam Ragozin's argument is the frequent mention in the Ṛig Veda, of names denoting serpents used by the early Āryans as invectives and epithets of abuse levelled against their Dasyu foes. Numerous battles are mentioned as having taken place between the Āryan gods—notably Indra—and the serpent, invariably terminating with the Āryan god's victory. As the Dasyus and the serpent are mentioned in the same breath, the writer easily takes the latter to be the god,—symbol or emblem—of the former and accordingly interprets one such epithet, *Shishna-devas*, to mean 'whose god is the serpent.' And the whole thing is invested with a garb of allegorical presentation so as to suit the general conclusion, her comfortable inference, that the Dasyus were the Draviḍians, the serpent, their god, and that the symbol, as a figure of speech, stands for the worshippers. It must be confessed that it is impossible to conceive of a more ingenious interpretation which is farther from the truth and which lands us at once on a region of insurmountable difficulties. First of all, if the early Āryans regarded the serpent with a feeling of loathsome abhorrence, as represented above, how comes it then that the very object of their loathsomeness is given an important place in their cosmogony, religion and Purāṇas and raised to the status of an

important functionary and a sacred attribute of their gods through all the stages of the development of their faith? If the Āryans borrowed the serpent and its worship from the Dravidians, surely it is inconceivable how the repulsive and uncanny reptile and one of their foes, once the object of their hatred, could have been elevated to a place of honour and reverence as a holy object. These difficulties can never be satisfactorily expained so long as we accept Madam Ragozin's explanation. Besides, she has failed to establish the correctness of her interpretation—namely that the Dasyus were Snake worshippers—by not referring to any passage in the Ṛig Veda where the rites of the Dasyus are explicitly set forth or any account is given of their propitiation of the serpent. In the absence of any such confirmatory evidence, it is difficult to agree with the author of the *Vedic India* as regards the origin of snake worship in India. But, is no simpler and easier explanation possible? The Āryans in their advance into the Punjab encountered two different kinds of foes. They had to fight their way equally with the Dasyus and the serpents. The Dasyus attacked them and checked their progress at every step, while the venomous reptiles molested them and carried death into their camps. They had to fight for the land with the one and for life with the other. So they engaged in a strife with both. With the Dasyus they fought as well as their gods fought. They routed and subjected them and in time even absorbed them into their own fold. But with the serpent they had no longer to deal with a human enemy, and neither intimidation nor coercion, neither absorption nor conquest was possible. First they invoked their gods and requested them to fight the serpent-foes. There are accounts in the Ṛig of the Āryan-god's battle with the serpent-god—*Shishna-deva*—and the triumphs of the former, just as there are account of their conflicts with the Dasyus and their victories. In the one case the Āryans fought with human foes; while in the other the Āryan-gods battled, not

with mere reptiles (serpents)—for it would be derogatory for gods to engage in strife with mere reptiles—but with the gods of the serpents, an idea perfectly natural to the Āryan mind that made gods of the elements, the sun, the moon and other natural forces. But they soon perceived that there would be practically no end of their strife with these foes and that they would have to contend with them as long as they stayed in the country. They fought with them and found their trouble was not over. The only other alternative left to them was to approach them, not with arms and weapons, but with prayers and sacrifices and accordingly a place was given to them in their pantheon. The serpents were observed to issue forth from holes in the earth and it was thought that the interior of the earth must be their abode where a big serpent—the god of all serpents—must reside. Hence the serpent was easily made the symbol of the Earth. They further thought that, as the earth was flat, the lower world, the nether region, should be peopled by serpents and that the earth itself be balanced on the head of a monster serpent. Thus in the Āryan cosmogony Ādi-Sesha,—the serpent-god, came to have a distinct place. This simpler explanation seems to us to explain the facts more easily and fully and does not lead us to find impossible allegories and figures of speech in the narratives of a primitive folk. There is no doubt that the importance of adoring the serpent, which had its beginnings in the feelings of fear and horror in the Āryan mind and in the primitive instinct of self preservation, was thus recognised and the serpent was inseparably bound up with the growth of Hinduism in all the stages of which we find it occupying places of growing pre-eminence and importance.

The other difficulties raised by the same writer, viz., that temples dedicated to serpents are not found in the North of India and that the priests of such temples are never Brahmans but belong to the lower castes, are not of great

consequence as they are merely of a negative character. First, we doubt if there are anywhere in India, temples as such, specially dedicated to the serpent. In fact stone images of serpents are found all over India wherever there is a Hindu temple, Sivite or Vaishnavite. And the worship of these images, especially by the gentler sex, obtains throughout the whole of this ancient land, irrespective of the caste or creed of the votaries. The worship of the live serpent is found to exist with full force even to-day in parts of the Bombay Presidency and in Malabar in Southern India. In the latter country, every household has its sacred mound—the abode of serpents—and the propitiation of the reptile with the offerings of milk and broth is celebrated with great fervour and reverence. And when we remember the story of the reclamation of Kerala by Paraŝurāma and the amount of Āryan influence that was brought to bear upon the country and its people, we can easily understand how the curious worship still survives there. Priests are nowhere employed for worshipping the serpent except in the ceremony called *Nāgapūjā* in which only an Āryan priest can officiate and repeat the Sanskrit mantras. Lastly, the superstitious dread of the serpent as an evil omen is shared alike by all classes of people in India and cannot easily be assigned to the credit of any one race, Āryan or Draviḍian. It is therefore almost impossible, with the weight of a long array of evidences to the contrary and with unmistakable traces of the growing importance of the serpent recognised by the early Āryans and with the total absence of its mention in early Draviḍian records, to accept the conclusion of the author of *Vedic India*, that the serpent was the sacred symbol of the Draviḍians and its worship was adopted by the Āryans. And if our discourse tends to make anything clear, it is quite the contrary.

Such then in brief outline is the origin and development

of serpent worship in India. But the adoration of the serpent was by no means restricted to the Indian continent. In the early ages, every nation in every part of the globe seems to have devoted their attention to this curious reptile-worship. "The Japanese who formerly reverenced the water-snake as a god, have traditions of the Creator appearing to man in the shape of a serpent. The Ophites, a sect of the Gnostics, styled themselves Naaseni, or 'Followers of the serpent'; and it is stated that they kept a tame serpent in a chest or sacred ark, out of which it was induced to emerge during the celebration of their mystic rites. The temples of Æsculapius at Alexandria and at Epidaurus had each a living serpent, carefully tended by the temple devotees. This was the Agathodæmon or 'good genius' of Egyptian worship and it is supposed to have been the hooded snake. 'The ancient Agathodæmon, in the form of his congener the cobra, still haunts the precincts of the Hindu temples, as of old the shrines of Isis, and issues from his hole at the sound of a fife to accept the oblation of milk from the attendant priest' (King's *Gnostics*, p. 218). The sacred snake was also conspicuous in the Greek mysteries. Serpentine emblems occur repeatedly in the early art of W. Europe, and the snake is a prominent feature of European mythology. The worship of the snake has long been a characteristic of the religious rites of the north American Indians."—*Hamsworth Encyclopædia*.

The Ancient Dravidian Industries and Commerce.

பழைய கைத்தொழில் வியாபாரங்கள்.

BY

M. R. RY., M. RĀGHAVA AIYANGĀR AVARGAL.

இப்போது நம் தேசத்தார் மனதில் உதித்து வரும் "தேசீய உணர்ச்சி" யானது, முக்கியமாகக், கைத்தொழில்களாலும் வியாபாரத்தாலும் இந்தியாவின் பொருளாதார நிலையை விருத்தி செய்தலைப் பற்றியதாகவே உள்ளது. இவ்வுணர்ச்சி தேசாபிமானமும் ஊக்கமு முடைய அறிவாளர் சிந்தையில் பல்லாண்டுகளாக உதித்து வந்திருப்பினும், ஜன சமூகம் முழுதும் அதிற் றம் விருப்பத்தைக் காட்டத் தொடங்கியது சமீபகாலத்திலேதான் என்பது நாம் அறியாத தன்று. இத்தகைய உயர்ந்த வுணர்ச்சியும் அதன்மூலம் முயற்சியும் புதியனவா யுண்டாயிருப்பதற்கு முக்கிய ஏது நம் நாட்டார் உலகியல்களை முன்னிலும் அதிகமாகத் தெரிந்து வருதலேயாம். தேசத்தின் கைத்தொழில் வியாபாரங்கள், நெடுங்காலமாக, நம்மவரது கையைவிட்டு விலகி வருவதால், இந்தியாவின் செல்வநிலை பெரிதும் சீர்கெட்டு வரும் செய்தி நம்மவர்க்கு எட்டிப் பெரிதும் அதிசயத்தையும் அச்சத்தையும் கொடுத்து வருகிறது. இது நற்காலத்தின் அறிகுறி என்பதில் சிறிதும் ஐயமில்லை. இக்காலத்துச் சீர் கேடான நிலைமையை மாற்றுதற்கு தேசீய முயற்சி தக்க கருவி யாதலால், அது பெரிதும் வேண்டப்படுவதே யாம். ஆனால், முன்னாளிலே, நம்மவர்க்குப் பொருளாதார நிலையைப் பற்றிய கவலையேனும் அதன் மூலம் இத்தகைய முயற்சிகளேனும் அவசியமாக நேரிட்டன வல்ல. அந்நிய

வியாபாரிகளால் இந்தியக் கைத்தொழில் வியாபாரங்கட்கு எவ்வித இழுக்கும் அப்போது நேர்ந்த தில்லை. நாட்டில் விளைந்த இயற்கைப் பொருள்களில் வேண்டிய அளவு இங்கேயே செயற்கைப் பொருள்களாக மாறி உபயோகிக்கப்பட்டன. அவை இங்கு மட்டுமல்ல: அந்நிய வியாபாரிகளால் தேசாந்தரங்கட்கு மிகுதியாக 'ஏற்றுமதி' செய்யப் பெற்றும், பெரு லாபம் தந்தன. இவ்விஷயங்களெல்லாம், இற்றைக்கு 1800-வருஷங்கட்கு முன் இந்தியாவுக்கு வந்து சென்ற அந்நியர்களுள் பிளைநி, டாலமி, பெரிப்ளஸ், ஸ்ட்ராபோ—முதலிய யவனாசிரியர்கள் எழுதியுள்ள சரித்திரக் குறிப்புகளால் வெளியாகின்றன. இவருள் பிளைநி என்பவர், தம் குறிப்பில், நம்தேசம் ."ஆண்டுதோறும் உரோம ராஜ்யத்திலிருந்து 976, 979-பௌன் கவர்தற்குரிய பண்டங்களை 'ஏற்றுமதி' செய்துவர, அப்பண்டங்கள் அந்நிய நாடுகளில் நூறுமடங்கு அதிக விலைக்கு விற்கப்பட்டன" என்று கூறியிருக்கின்றார்.* இவ்வாறு, முற்காலத்தே, பிறர்க்கு மிகவும் அருமையும் அதிசயமுந் தரத்தக்க பண்டங்களை யளித்து இயற்கை வளமெல்லாம் நிரம்பிப் பொன்கொழிக்கும் பூமியாக விளங்கியது நம் பாரதவர்ஷம். பொன்கொழிக்கும் பூமிஎன்று நாம்சொல்வது புனைந்துரை யன்று: "இந்தியர் உங்களைவிட மகா பாக்கியசாலிகள்; நீங்கள் பொன்கொழிக்கும் அந்நாட்டா ரொழிய ஏனையரினும் பாக்கிய சாலிகள்; உங்களுடைய துணிபும் இதுவே" என்று, கி. பி. 117-ல் இறந்த கிரிஸாஸ்டம் என்னும் யவனாசிரியரே, தம் நாட்டாரை நோக்கிக் கூறுவதன் மூலம் நம்மவரை வாயாரப் புகழ்ந்திருக்கின்றனர்.† இவ்வாறு இருக்கும்போது, பஞ்ச மென்பதும் பட்டினி யென்பதும் அக்காலத்து இருந்தன என்று சொல்ல இட முண்டோ? இல்லை. இற்றைக்கு 2300-ஆண்டுகட்கு முன் விளங்கிய சந்திரகுப்த சக்கரவர்த்தியிடம் ராஜதூதராய் வந்து சென்ற மெகாஸ்தனிஸ் என்னும் யவனர், தாம் நேரிற் கண்டு களித்த இந்திய வளத்தையும் ஏனைப் பெருமைகளையுங் குறித்தெழுதி—"இவற்

* The Tamils 1800 Years Ago. P. 38.

† "செந்தமிழ்"—தொகுதி 4, பக்கம் 173.

ருல், இந்தியாவுக்குப் பஞ்ச மென்பது வந்ததே யில்லை யென்றும், உணவு முதலியவற்றுக்கு வேண்டும் பண்டங்களில் யாதொரு குறைபாடும் இருந்ததில்லை யென்றும் சொல்லப்படு கின்றன.'' * என்று எழுதிப்போந்தனர்—என்றால், இக்கால நிலைக்கும் முற்கால நிலைக்கும் எத்தனை பெரிய வித்தியாசம் உள்ளது! இப்படியே, அந்நியர் எழுத்துக்களைக் கொண்டு, நம் நாட்டின் பூர்வநிலையை ஆராய்வதில் பல அரிய செய்திகள் தெரியக் கூடு மாயினும், அவ் வாராய்ச்சி மிக நீளுவதோடு, தக்க அறிஞரால் முன்னரே வெளியிடப் பட்டிருத்தலால் அவை மிகையுமாகும். ஆதலால், தமிழ் நாடு சம்பந்தப்பட்ட மட்டில், முற்காலத்தில் நிகழ்ந்த கைத் தொழில் வியாபாரப் பெருமைகளை மட்டும் முன்னூல்களைக் கொண்டு இங்கு ஆராய்வான் கருதுகின்றேன்.

ஆரிய மக்களால் "புண்ணியபூமி" என்று கருதப்படும் இந்தியாவுக்குப் பரதகண்டம், பாரதவர்ஷம், ஆரியவர்த்த முதலிய பெயர்கள் முன்னாண் முதல் வழங்குவது போலவே, அதற்குக் "கர்மபூமி" என்னும் பெயர் வழக்கமும் உண்டு. "கர்மபூமி" என்ற தொடர்க்கு வெவ்வேறு பொருள்கள் இப்போது கூறப் படுகின்றன. கேவலம் வைதிக கர்மங்கள் பரதகண்டத்திலன்றி வேற்று நாடுகளிற் செய்யப்படின் பய னளியா வாதலால், அப் பெயர் பெற்றதென்பர் ஒரு சாரார். மற்றொருசாரார், சுவர்க்க நரகங்கள் இன்பதுன்பங்களை அநுபவித்தற்குரிய இடங்களாதலால் அவை "போகபூமிகள்" எனவும், அவ்வின்பதுன்ப அநுபவங்கட்குக் காரணமான நல்வினை தீவினைகள் செய்யப் படும் இடம் இப்பரதகண்ட மன்றி வேறில்லை யாதலால் இது "கர்மபூமி" எனவும் பெயர் பெற்றன என்று கூறுவார். இப் பொருள்கள் பிற்காலத்தாரால் ஒருவாறு இசைத்துக் கூறப்பட்டன வேனும், அத்தொடரை வழங்கிய முன்னோர்களது விரிந்த எண்ணத்தை உள்ளபடி இவை உணர்த்துவன வாகா. அத்தொடரிலுள்ள "கர்மம்" என்பதை வைதிக கர்மமொன்றற்கே

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* Civilisation in Ancient India. Part I. P. 228.

கொண்டு பொருளைக் குறுக்கியும் நற்கருமத்துடன் தீக்கரும மும் செய்தற்குரிய இடம் என ஒன்றைக் கூட்டியும் கூருமல், "உயர்ந்த தொழில்களையே செய்தற் குரிய பூமி" எனப் பொருள் காணுதலே முன்னோர் கருத்தோடு ஒத்ததாகும். அஃதாவது—அவ்வவ் வருணத்தார் ஜீவனோபாயத்துக் குரிய நற்கர்மங்களை முறைப்படி செய்து வந்த பூமி இப்பரதகண்ட மாதலின் அது "கர்மபூமி" எனப்பட்ட தென்பதாம். பழைய செந்தமிழ் மக்கள் இக்கருத்தே படப் பொருள் கூறி யிருக்கின்ற னர் என்பது கடைச்சங்க காலத்ததாகிய திவாகரத்தில் கூறப் பட்ட பின்வருஞ் சூத்திரத்தால் விளக்க மாகும்.

"உழவு தொழிலே [1] வரைவு [2] வாணிபம்
வித்தை சிற்ப [3] மென்றித்திறத் தறுதொழில்
கற்கும் நடையது கரும பூமி".

இதனால் முற்கூறிய பொருளே முன்னோர் கருத்து என் பது மலையிலக் கன்ரே? முன்பு, அவ்வவ்வருணத்தார் தத்தம் செய்தொழிலைக் குறைவறப் புரிந்து விளங்கிய பாரத நாட்டில், பிற்காலத்து வர்ணங்களும் கர்மங்களும் தலைதடுமாறினமையால் கர்மபூமி என்னுந் தொடர்ப்பொருளும் தடுமாறியதுபோலும்! திவாகரர் கூறிய பொருளே, கர்மபூமி என்பதின் பழம்பொருள் என்பதற்கு மற்ருெரு சிறந்த மேற்கோளுங் கூறுதும். ஜைன மத கிரந்தமும் மணிப்பிரவாள நடையினது மாகிய ஸ்ரீபுராணத் தில், ஆதிதீர்த்தகரரது நாளில் நிகழ்ந்த விசேடங் கூறிச் செல்லு மிடத்தே, "பரதக்ஷேத்திரம் ஷட்கர்மங்களாலே பிர வர்த்தித்தலின் போகபூமி என்னும் பெயர் தவிர்ந்து, கர்மபூமி என்னும் பெயர்பெற்றது" எனவும், "பகவான் ஜனங்கட்கு ஜீவனோபாயமாக உழவு, தொழில், வரைவு, வாணிபம், வித்யா, சில்ப மென்னும் ஷட்கர்மங்களையும் உபதேசித்தருளி" எனவும்

[1] கைத்தொழில்கள். [2] எழுதல், ஓவியத்துறை முதலியன.

[3] கல்லு முலோகமும் செங்கலு மரமும்,
மண்ணுஞ் சுதையுந் தந்தமும் வண்ணமும்,
கண்ட சர்க் கரையு மெழுகு மென்றிவை
பத்தே சிற்பத்தொழிற் குறுப்பாவன"—திவாகரம்.

வரும் வாக்கியங்களால், பரதகண்டத்துக்குக் "கர்மபூமி" என்னும் பெயர் வந்த வாறும் ஷட்கர்மங்கள் இன்னவை யென்பதும் நன்கு விளங்குமாறு கண்டு கொள்ளத் தக்கது.

இனி, இக்கர்மபூமிக்குரிய அறுவகைத் தொழில்களிலே, உழவும் வாணிபமுமே தலைசிறந்தன என்பது அறிஞர்க்கெல்லாம் ஒத்தது. ஒரு நாட்டின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கு இவ்விரண்டு தொழில்களும் ஒருங்கு செழித் திருத்தல் இன்றியமையாத தாகும். இவ்விரண்டில் ஒன்று செழிக்க, ஒன்று செழித்த தில்லையேல், அந் நாடு பரிபூர்த்தி பெற்ற வளமுடைய தென்று சொல்லத் தக்க தன்று. நம் தமிழகமோ முற்காலத்தே இவ்விரண்டு தொழில்களும் குறைவறப் பெற்றிருந்த தென்பதற்கு எண்ணிறந்த சான்றுக ளுள்ளன. உதாரணமாக—மதுரைக் காஞ்சியில்,

"வியன்மேவன் விழுச்செல்வத்து
இருவகையா னிசைசான்ற
சிறுகுடிப் பெருந்தொழுவர்
குடிகெழீஇய நானிலவரொடு."

எனவரும் அடிகளாலும், அவற்றிற்கு ஆசிரியர்-நச்சினார்க்கினியர் "உலகத்துத் தொழில்களில் மேலாகச் சொல்லும் உழவு வாணிகம் என்னும் இரண்டு கூற்றுலே,—அகலம் பொருந்து தலையுடைய சீரிய செல்வத்தாலே—புகழ்நிறைந்த குடிமக்கள் பொருந்தின நான்குநிலத்து வாழ்வாருடனே" என்று கூறிய உரையாலும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் பழநிலை வெளியாவ தோடு, விவசாயம் வியாபார மென்னும் இரண்டும் தேச விர்த்திக்கு இன்றியமையாதவை என்னும் இக்காலத் தறிஞர் கருத்து முன்னோர்க்குச் சிறிதும் புதிய தன்று என்பதும் விளங்கத் தக்கது. இவற்றுள், உழவின் பெருமை வேண்டிய வளவு தமிழ் நூல்களிற் காணலா மாதலால் எடுத்துக் கொண்ட பழைய கைத்தொழில் வியாபாரப் பெருமைகளை மட்டும் இங்கே கூறுவோம்.

வணிகர்க்கு முக்கியமாக வேண்டப்படுங் குணங்கள் கடைச்சங்க நூலாகிய திவாகரத்திலே பின்வருமாறு கூறப்படு கின்றன :—

"தனிமை யாதல், முனிவில ளுதல்,
இடனறிந் தொழுகல், பொழுதொடு புணர்தல்,
உறுவது தெரிதல், இறுவ தஞ்சாமை,
ஈட்டல், பகுத்தல்,—என்றிவை யெட்டும்
வாட்ட மில்லா வணிகர தியற்குணம்."

வியாபார முறைக்கு இக்காலத்தாராற் சொல்லப்படுங் குணங்களில், முக்கியமானவை இவ்வெட்டுமே யன்றோ. இவற்றுள் "தனிமையாதல்"—என்னுங் குணம் வியாபாரத்துக்கு உரியதாக முன்பு கருதப்பட்டது. "கொள்ளைக்குப் போனாலும் கூட்டுப்பங் குதவாது" என்பது நம்மவர் பழமொழி. கூட்டு வர்த்தக முறையில், இக்காலத்துப் போல எண்ணிறந்த சௌகரியம் முன்பு ஏற்படாமையால் அது நீக்கப்பட்டது போலும். ஆயினும் அக்கூட்டு வியாபாரமும் முன்னிகழ்ந்ததே யென்பதும், அக்கால வியல்புக்கு அது பெரும்பாலும் ஒவ்வாதாயிற் றென்பதும் "தனிமையாதல்" என ஒன்றை எடுத்துக் கூறுதலானே உய்த் தறியப்படும். மனு முதலிய நீதிநூல்களில் சொல்லப்படும் பதினெட்டு வியவகார பதங்களில் "கூடிமேம்படல்" அஃதாவது கூடியிலாபம் சம்பாதித்தலும் ஒன்றாக விருத்தலால், முற்காலத்தே அவ்வியாபார முறைமை தழுவப் பட்டிருத்தல் காண்க. இனி, தனிமையாதலென்பது கூட்டு வியாபாரத்தை விலக்காது, வாணிபத்தொழிலில் சுவேச்சை யுடைய ளுதல் என்பதைக் குறிக்கும் எனினும் அமையும்.

இத்தகைய குணங்களுடன், தமிழ்மக்கள், பண்டைக்காலத்தே அந்நிய நாடுகளிலும் உண்ணாடுகளிலும் தங்கள் வாணிப விர்த்தியைப் பெருக்கி வந்தார்கள். வெளிநாடுகளுடன், இவர்கள், முக்கியமாகச் செய்துபோந்த வியாபாரம் துணி, மணி, மிளகு முதலியனவாம். நம்நாட்டில் நெய்யப்பட்ட துணிகள் மிகப் பழங் காலத்தேயே அந்நியரால் ஆச்சரியத்துடன் புகழப் பட்டுள்ளன. ஏறக்குறைய இற்றைக்கு 2400-வருஷங்கட்கு முன் பிருந்தவரும், "சரித்திர வாசிரியர்க் கெல்லாந் தகப்பன்" என்று புகழப் படுபவரு மாகிய "ஹெரோடஸ்" என்னும் யவனர் நமது பஞ்சைப் பற்றிப் பேசும் போது, "அங்கு

(இந்தியாவில்) மரங்களில் வளரும் கம்பளி" என்றும், "அஃது ஆட்டு ரோமங்களால் உண்டாம் கம்பளிகளினும் விசேடமானது" என்றும் கூறுகின்றார்.* இத்துணி நெய்தற் றொழில், இலக்கியங்களில், "காருக வினை" என்று கூறப்படும். இதனை,

"பருத்திநூல் பட்டுநூல் அமைத்தாடை யாக்கலும்
சுமத்தலும் பிறவுங் காருக வினைத்தொழில்."

என்னுந் திவாகரத்தாலும் "காருக ரிருக்கை", "காருக மடந்தை" எனவரும் முன்னூற் றொடர்களாலும் உணர்க. தத்தம் கிரகங்களில் இருந்து கொண்டே செய்து வந்த தொழிலாதலால் அப்பெயர் பெற்றது. முற்காலத்தே, கிரகங்களில் இருந்து கொண்டே அருமையான ஆடை வகைகள் நெய்தற்கு வேண்டிய நுண்ணிய நூலிழைகள் முழுதும் வீட்டுப் பெண்பாலரால் நூற்கப்பட்டன என்பதற்கு பற்பல மேற்கோள்கள் தமிழில் காணலாம். உதாரணமாக—"பருத்திப் பெண்டின் பனுவ லன்ன" எனவரும் புறநானூற்றடிக்கு "பருத்தி நூற்கும் பெண்டாட்டியது சுகிர்ந்த பஞ்சு போன்ற" என்று கூறப்பட்ட உரையும்,

"பஞ்சிதன் சொல்லாப் பனுவ லிழையாகச்
செஞ்சொற் புலவனே சேயிழையா—எஞ்சாத
கையே வா யாகக் கதிரே மதியாக
மையிலா நூன்முடியு மாறு"

என்னும் நன்னூற் பாயிரச்செய்யுளும், முற்கூறிய விஷயத்துக்குத் தக்க சான்றுகளாம் இவற்றுள், பின்னதாகிய வெண்பாவிலே பஞ்சிநூலையும் படிப்பு நூலையும் உருவகப்படுத்திய பவணந்தியார், புலவனைச் சேயிழை யாகக் கூறிப்போந்த மாட்சியானே நூனூற்றல் மகளிர் தொழில் என்பது மலை யிலக்காம். "நுண்ணிய பலவாய பஞ்சின் நுனிகளாற் கைவன் மகடூஉத் தனது செயற்கை நலந் தோன்ற ஓரிழைப் படுத்தலாம் உலகத்து நூனூற்றல் என்பது" எனவரும் இறையனார் களவிய லுரை வாக்கியமும் இங்கே கவனிக்கத் தக்கது. இழை நூற்றல் ஸ்திரீகள் கையாண்ட தொழி லென்பது இருக்கு வேதத்திலும்

* 8. "செந்தமிழ்"—தொகுதி 5, பக்கம் 15

அறியப் பட்டது*. இவ்வழக்கம் இன்றும் நம்நாட்டிற் பல விடங்களில் நடைபெறுவதே யாம். பழைய காலத்தில், தேர்ந்த பெண்டிராற் செய்யப்படும் நூல் நூற்றல், நெய்தல் முதலிய தொழில்களை அரசாங்கத்தார், தனி அதிகாரிகளைக் கொண்டு நாட்டில் மேற்பார்க்கும்படி செய்து, விருத்திசெய்து வந்தன ரென்பதும், அவ்வதிகாரியும், நெய்தல் வேலை செய்யும் மகளிரும் கவனிக்க வேண்டிய விதிகள் ஏற்படுத்தி யிருந்தன ரென்பதும், சாணக்கிய அர்த்தசாஸ்திரம், இரண்டாம் பாகம் 23-வது "ஸூத்ராத்யக்ஷா" என்ற அதிகாரத்தில் விரித்துக் கூறப்பட்டிருத்தலால் விளங்கத் தக்கது. இனிச் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தே,

"பட்டினும் மயிரினும் பருத்தி நூலினும்
கட்டும் நுண்வினைக் காருகர் இருக்கையும்"

என்னும் அடிகளின் உரையிலே, "மயிரினும்" என்பதற்கு "எலி மயிரானும்" என்று பொருள் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இவ்வெலி மயிராடை மிகுந்த குளிரையும் தாங்கக் கூடியதென்பதும் பிற விஷயங்களும் சீவக சிந்தாமணியில் வரும்,

.......................கோதை மாதரார்
பங்க யப்பகைப் பருவம் வந்தென
எங்கு மில்லன எலிமயிர்த் தொழிற்
பொங்கு பூம்புகைப் போர்வை மேயினர்
(முத்தியிலம்பகம்-82)

"செந்நெருப் புணுஞ் செவ்வெலிம்மயிர்
அந்நெருப் பள வாய்பொற் கம்பலம்
மன்னுருப்பன மகிழ்ந்து தாங்கினர்
என்னரொப்பு மில் லவர்க ளென்பவே"
(ஷை-87)

"பனிமயிர் குளிர்ப்பன பஞ்சின் மெல்லிய
கனிமயிர் குளிர்ப்பன கண்கொளாதன
எலிமயிர்ப் போர்வை"
(இலக்கணை-94)

என்னும் பாடல்களாலும் அறியலாம். இவ்வெலி மயிரால் அமைந்த ஆடை எவ்வளவு அருமை யாதல் வேண்டும்!

இதுபோலத் தமிழ் நாட்டிலே அப்போது வழங்கி வந்த

* Civilisation in Ancient India Part i, page-44.

பட்டாடைகளிற் "பலவகைப்பட்ட தொகுதி" சிலப்பதிகாரத்தால் தெரிய வருகின்றன. அவற்றின் பெயர்கள், கேட்பதற்கு மிகவும் இன்பம் பயப்பனவாம். அவை வருமாறு :—

"கோசிகம், பீதகம், பச்சிலை, அரத்தம், நுண்டுகில், சுண்ணம், வடகம், பஞ்சு, இரட்டு, பாடகம், கோங்கலர், கோபம், சித்திரக்கம்மி, குருதி, கரியல், பேடகம், பரியட்டக்காசு, வேதங்கம், புங்கர்க்காழகம், சில்லிகை, தூரியம், பங்கம், தத்தியம், வண்ணடை, கவற்றுமடி, நூல்யாப்பு, திருக்கு, தேவாங்கு, பொன்னெழுத்து, குச்சரி, தேவகிரி, காத்தூலம், இறஞ்சி, வெண்பொத்தி, செம்பொத்தி, பணிப்பொத்தி" (சிலப்பதி—336-பக்.)

இவற்றால் எண்ணிறந்த ஆடைவகைகள் முன்பு வழங்கின என்பது தெளிவாம். இவை, குழிப்பாடி கலிங்கம் முதலிய ஊர்களிலே நெய்யப்பட்டு வந்தன. இத்தகைய ஆடைகளிலே சிறந்தவைகள் சில, சங்க விலக்கியங்களில், பின்வருமாறு புகழப் பட்டுள்ளன :—

"நோக்கு நுழைகல்லா நுண்மைய பூக்கனிந்து
அரவுரி யன்ன அறுவை நல்கி" (பொருநராற்-82-83.)

(உரை) கண்ணிற் பார்வை, இஃது இழைபோனவழியென்று குறித்துப் பார்க்க வாராத நுண்மை உடைபவாய், பூத்தொழில் முற்றுப் பெற்றமையால் பாம்பினது தோலையொத்த துகிலைக் கொடுத்து

"காம்பு சொலித்தன்ன அறுவை" (சிறுபான்-236)

(உரை) மூங்கிலாடையை உரித்தாலொத்த மாசில்லாத உடை

"கண்ணுமை கல்லா நுண்ணூற் கைவினை
வண்ண அறுவையர்"—(மணிமேகலை-காதை-28.)

"* ஆவி யன்ன அவிற்நூற் கலிங்கம" பெரும்பாண்-469)

"பாம்பு பயந்தன்ன வடிவின காம்பின்
கழைபடு சொலியின் இழையணி வாரா
ஒண்பூங் கலிங்கம்" (புறம்-383.)

(உரை) பாம்புச் சட்டை போறலால் அது பயந்தது போன்ற வடிவுடையனவும், மூங்கிற் கழையில் உண்டாம் ஆடைபோல, இழைப்பு

* ஆவி = பாலாவி.

கணணுக்குத் தோன்றுதனவும், ஒள்ளிய பூத்தொழில் உடையனவு மான ஆடை என்க.

இவைபோன்ற புகழ்ச்சிகள் பழையநூல்களில் அதிகமாம். இத்தகை ஆடை யாபரண முதலியவை செய்யுந் தொழிலைப் படித்தறிதற்குரிய கருவிகளும் முன்பு இல்லாமற் போகவில்லை. யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியில், ஓரிடத்தே, "இவற்றை மந்திர வாத மருத்துவநூலும் சாமுத்திரிகமும் நிலைத்துநூலும் ஆயுத நூலும் பத்து விச்சையும் ஆடைநூலும் அணிகலநூலும் அருங் கலநூலு முதலிய வற்றாலுணர்க" எனவரும் வாக்கியத்தால், முற்காலத்தில், பலதொழில்களையும் அறிதற்குரிய கருவிநூல் கள் வழங்கி வந்தன வென்பது தெளிவாம். அன்றியும்,

"ஏரண முருவம் யோகம் இசைகணக்கு இரதம் சாலம்
தாரண மறமே சந்தம் தம்பநீர் நிலமு லோகம்
மாரணம் பொருளென் றின்ன மானநூல் யாவும் வாரி
வாரணங் கொண்டதந்தோ வழிவழிப் பெயரு மாள."

என்னும் பாடலும், புறம் 166-ம் செய்யுளில் "மூவேழ் துறையும்" என்பதன் விசேடவுரையிலே "இருபத்தொரு கூறுபட்ட அர்த்தநூல்" (Political Economy) எனக் கூறப்பட்டிருப்பதும் "உல்லியர் கூவநூ லுணர்வோர்" என்னுந் திவாகர சூத்திரமும் பிறவும் முற்காலத்தே தொழில் நிலை பொருளாதார நிலைகளை அறிதற்கு வேண்டிய நூல்கள் தமிழ் மொழியில் மலிந்திருந்தன என்பதை நன்கு விளக்கக் கூடியன.

இந்நூல்க ளெல்லாம் இப்பொழுது யாண்டுள்ளன! இங் ஙனம் முற்காலத்தில் ஆடைக்குப் பேர்போன நாடாய் விளங்கி, பிற நாடுகளின் மானத்தைக் காத்து வந்த நம் பரதகண்டம் நம் காலத்தில் ஏறக்குறைய அப்பெயர் போனதேயாகி, தன்மானத் தைக் காத்தற்குப் பிறர்கையை அபேக்ஷிப்பதாக மாறிவிட்டது. இது நம்மவர்க்குப் பெரிதும் துக்கமும் வெட்கமுந் தரத்தக்க தன்றோ? முன்னாளில், இவ் வருமையான துணிகளுடன், மிளகு, தந்தம், முத்து முதலிய இயற்கைப் பொருள்களையும் வாங்கிச் செல்லும் பொருட்டு, காவிரிப்பூம்பட்டினம், முசிரி, தொண்டி முதலிய கடற்கரைப் பட்டினங்களில் யவன வியாபாரி

கள் தங்கள் கப்பல்களுடன் மிகுதியாக இறங்கி வந்தனர். சிலப்பதிகாரத்தே,

"கயவாய் மருங்கிற் காண்டோர்த் தடுக்கும்
பயனறி வறியா யவனர் இருக்கையும்
கலந்தரு திருவிற் புறம்பெயர் பாக்கள்
கலந்திருந் துறையும் இலங்குநீர் வரைப்பும்"

எனவும், அகநானூற்றில்,

"யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளங்கெழு முசிறி"*

எனவும் பிறவாறுங் கூறப்பட் டிருத்தல் காண்க. இவ் யவனர் தம் நாடுகளிலிருந்து இங்கு 'இறக்குமதி' செய்த பொருள்கள், முக்கியமாக, சாராயம், பித்தளை, கண்ணாடி என்பனவாம். இவற்றுள் சாராயம் தமிழ்ப் பேரரசராலும் சிற்றரசராலும் விரும்பி உபயோகப் படுத்தப்பட்டு வந்தது. இச்செய்தி,

"யவனர்—நன்கலம் தந்த தண்கமழ் தேறல்
பொன்செய் புனைகலத்து ஏந்தி நாளும்
ஒண்டொடி மகளிர் மடுப்ப மகிழ்சிறந்து
ஆங்கினிது ஒழுகுமதி ஓங்குவாள் மாற!" (புறம்-56)

என நக்கீரனார், பாண்டியன்-நன்மாறனை நோக்கி, வாழ்த்துதலால் தெளியப்படும். இவ்வாறு தமிழ் நாட்டில் மலிந்திருந்த யவனர் என்பவர் கிரேக்கம் அரபியா முதலிய மேனாடுகளி லிருந்து வந்தவர்களே. இவருள் கிரேக்க யவனர் இங்கு வந்து வியாபாரஞ் செய்தவராயினும், சங்க நாளிலும் அதன் பின்பும் தமிழகத்தில் மிகுதியாகத் தங்கினவர் சோனகர் என்னும் யவனராவர். தமிழர் கூறும் பதினெண் தேயங்களுள் ஒன்றான சோனகம் என்பது, பரத கண்டத்துக்கு மேல் பாலுள்ள நாடு

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* யவனவியாபாரிகளால் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டதும் செய்தொழிலால் மாட்சிமை பெற்றதுமான நல்ல கப்பல்கள், தாம் புறப்படும் போது ஸ்வர்ணங்களோடு வந்து, செல்லும் போது மிளகு மூடைகளுடன் பெயர்கின்ற வளப்பம் பொருந்திய முசிறி என்னும் பட்டினம் என்பது பொருள்.

களிலொன்று என்று சொல்லப் படுதலால், அஃது அரபியா என்னுந் தேசமாகக் கருதப்படுகிறது. தென்னாட்டுக் காயற் பட்டினம் கீழைக்கரை முதலிய கடற்கரைப் பக்கங்களிலே இக்காலத்தும் இச் சோனகர் மிகுதியாக வசிக்கின்றனர். இவர் கட்கு வழங்கும் "லப்பை" என்னும் பெயர் இவர்களது பூர்வ பாஷையாகிய அரபிச்சொல் என்பர். இவ ரெல்லாம், பிற் காலத்தே, தங்கள் பூர்வ தேசத்தாரைப் போல, மகமதிய மார்க் கத்தைத் தழுவிக் கொண்டனர். இச் சோனகர் ஏனைத் தமி ழத் துருக்கருடன் சம்பந்த முடையவர் அல்லர். இவர்கள், முற் காலத்தே, காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்து வசித்து வந்த வியா பாரக் கூட்டத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவ ரென்றும், பிற் காலத்திற்றான் அங்கு நின்றும் பாண்டி நாடு அடைந்தவ ரென்றும் தங்கள் ஆதி வரலாறு கூறுகின்றார்கள். இச் சோனகரது பூர்வ பாஷை அரபியே யாயினும் பன்னூற் றாண்டுகளாகத் தமி ழகத்தில் தங்கி விட்டவர்க ளாதலாலும், தமிழப் பெண்களை மணம் புரிந்தும் தமிழர் வழக்கங்களிலேயே பழகியும் வந்தமை யாலும் இவர்கள் தமிழ் மொழியே பேசுவோ ராயினர். தமிழ் மக்கள் இச் சோனகரை யவன ரென்னும் பெயரால் அழைத்து வந்தன ரென்பது, 'சோனகர் யவனர்' என்னுந் திவாகரத் தாலும், பத்துப் பாட்டில், யவன ரெனுஞ் சொல் வருமிட மெல்லாம் நச்சினார்க்கினியர் "சோனகர்" என்றே உரை கூறிப் போதலாலும் விளங்கத் தக்கது. அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் சோனக ரெல்லாம் மகமதியரா யிருத்தல் கருதி, யவனர்-துருக்கர் என்றார். (சிலப். பக். 333) இச் சோனகர்க்குள் "மரக்காயர்" என்னும் பட்டப் பெயர் வழங்குகிறது. இவர் ஆதி முதலே மரக்கல மியக்குந் தொழிலே கையாண்டமையால் இப்பெயர் வழங்கிய தென்பர். இச்சொல், அரபி பாஷையில் கப்பலின் பெயராக வழங்கும் "மார்கல்" என்பதி னின்று வந்த தென்று கூறுதலும் உண்டு. இம் "மார்கல்" என்பதும் தமிழ் "மரக்கலம்" என்பதும் சொல்லினும் பொருளினும் ஒன்றி யுள்ளமை கவனிக்கத் தக்கது. இது நிற்க. இனி, சிலப் பதி காரத்து வரும்,

"ஒங்கிரும் பரப்பின்
வங்க வீட்டத்துத் தொண்டியோ ரிட்ட
அகிலுந் துகிலும் ஆரமும் வாசமும்
தொகுகருப் பூரமும் சுமந்துடன் வந்த
கொண்டலொடு புகுந்து கோமகன் கூடல்"

என்பத னுரையிலே, அகிலில்—அரு மணவன், தக்கோலி, கிடாரவன், காரகில் என்று சொல்லப் பட்ட பலவகைத் தொகுதியும்; ஆரத்தில்—மலையாரம், தீமுரண்பச்சை, கிழான்பச்சை பச்சை வெட்டை, அரி சந்தனம், வேர், சுக்கொடி யென்னுந் தொகுதியும்; வாசத்தில்—அம்பரேச்சம், கத்தூரி, சவாது, சாந்து, குங்குமம், பனிநீர், புழுகு, தக்கோலம், நாகப்பூ, இலவங்கம், சாதிக்காய், வசுவாசி, நிரியாசம், தைலம் என்னுந் தொகுதியும்; கர்ப்பூரத்தில்—மலைச்சரக்கு, கலை, அடைவு சரக்கு, மார்பு, இளமார்பு, ஆரூர்க்கால், கையொட்டுக்கால், மார்ப்பற்று, வாராசான், குமடெறிவான், உருக்குருக்கு, வாரோசு, சூடன், சீனச்சூடன் என்னும் தொகுதியும் கூறப் பட்டுள்ளன. இவை உண்ணாடுகளி னின்றும் வெளிநாடுகளி னின்றும் தமிழகத்தில் அக் காலத்தே, இறக்குமதி யான பொருள் வகைக ளாதல் காண்க.

இனி பரத கண்டத்தே யுள்ள மற்ற நாட்டுத் தொழிலாள ரில் திறமை வாய்ந்த பலர் தமிழ் மக்களால் அபிமானிக்கப் பெற்று, தமிழ்த் தொழிலாளி களுடன் கூடித் தங்கள் தொழிற் றிறமைகளைக் காட்டியும் வந்தார்கள். இது,

"மகத வினைஞரும் மாராட்டக் கம்மரும்
அவந்திக் கொல்லரும் யவனத் தச்சரும்
தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடிக்
கொண்டினி தியற்றிய கண்கவர் செய்வினை"

என்னும் மணிமேகலை யடிகளால் தெளியப் படும். இவரது தொழில்களே யன்றி, கூர்ச்சரச் சிற்பவேலையும்,* கோசல நாட்டு ஓவிய வேலையும், வற்ச நாட்டுக் கம்மவேலையும் பிறவும் தமிழராற் பாராட்டப் பட்டன.¶ இவ்வாறு பூர்வீகர் பல

* மணிமேகலை, காதை-18, அடி 152.
¶ ஷை, காதை-19, 107-ம் அடி அரும்பத வுரை.

வகைப் பட்ட கைத் தொழில் களிலும் பயிற்சி பெற்றிருந்த தோடு, கரும்பாலைகளில் விசேஷக் கவலை செலுத்தியும், மிளகு வியாபாரத்தைப் பெருக்கியும், பல்வகைக் கள்ளுச் சமைத்தும், வெள் உப்பு உண்டாக்கியும், வியாபாரஞ் செய்து பேரூதிய மடைந்து வந்தார்க ளென்பது முன்னூல்களால் தெளிவாகிறது. முற் காலத்தே தொழில் செய்மாக்கள் வியாபாரிகள் முதலியோ ரது ஆரவாரமும் சிலப்பதிகாரத்தே இந்திர விழவூ ரெடுத்த காதையிலும் கடலாடு காதையிலும் கூறப்பட்ட அடியில் வரும் அடிகளைப் படித்து மகிழ்தல் இன்றி யமையாதது.

"கயவாய் மருங்கிற் காண்டோர்த் தடுக்கும்
பயனற வறிடா யவன ரிருக்கையும்
கலந்தரு திருவிற் புலம்பெயர் மாக்கள்
கலந்திருந்து உறையும் இலங்குநீர் வரைப்பும்
வண்ணமும் சுண்ணமும் தண்ணறுஞ் சாந்தமும்
பூவும் புகையும் மேவிய விரையும்
பகர்வனர் திரிதரும் நகர வீதியும்
பட்டினும் மயிரினும் பருத்தி நூலினும்
கட்டும் நுண்வினைக் காருகர் இருக்கையும்
ஆரமும் அகலுந் தூசுந் துகிலும்
மாசறு முத்தும் மணியும் பொன்னும்
அருங்கல வெறுக்கையோ டளந்து கடை யறியா
வளந்தலை மயங்கிய நனந்தலை மறுகும்
பால்வகை தெரிந்த பகுதிப் பண்டமொடு
கூலங் குவித்த கூல வீதியும்
காழியர் கூவியர் கண்ணொடை யாட்டியர்
மீன்விலைப் பரதவர் வெள்ளுப்புப் பகருநர்
பாசவர் வாசவர் பன்னிண விலைஞரோடு
ஓசுநர் செறிந்த ஊன்மலி யிருக்கையும்
கஞ்ச காரரும் செம்புசெய் குநரும்
மரங்கொல் தச்சரும் கருங்கைக் கொல்லரும்
கண்ணுள் வினைஞரு மண்ணீட் டாளரும்
பொன்செய் கொல்லரும் நன்கலம் தருநரும்
துன்ன காரரும் தோலின் துன்னரும்
கிழியினுங் கிடையினும் தொழில்பல பெருக்கிப்

பழுதில் செய்வினைப் பால்கெழு மாக்களும்
குழலினும் யாழினும் குரன்முத லேழும்
வழுவின் றிசைத்து வழித்திறங் காட்டும்
அரும்பெறன் மரபிற் பெரும்பா ணிருக்கையும்
சிறுகுறுங் கைவினைப் பிறர்வினை யாளரொடு
மறுவின்றி விளங்கும் மருவூர்ப் பாக்கமும்."

"மகர வாரி வளந்தந் தோங்கிய
நகர வீதி நடுவட் போகிக்
கலந்தரு திருவிற் புலம்பெயர் மாக்கள்
வேலைவா லுகத்து விரிதிரைப் பரப்பிற்
கூல மறுகிற் கொடியெடுத்து நுவலும்
மாலைச் சேரி மருங்குசென் றெய்தி
வண்ணமுஞ் சாந்து மலருஞ் சுண்ணமும்
பண்ணியப் பகுதியும் பகர்வோர் விளக்கமும்
செய்வினைக் கம்மியர் கைவினை விளக்கமும்
காழியர் மோதகத் தூழுறு விளக்கமும்
கூவியர் காரகற் குடக்கால் விளக்கமும்
நொடைநவில் மகடூஉக் கடைகெழு விளக்கமும்
இடையிடை மீன்விலை பகர்வோர் விளக்கமும்
இலங்குநீர் வரைப்பிற் கலங்கரை விளக்கமும்
விலங்குவலைப் பரதவர் மீன்றிமில் விளக்கமும்
கழிபெரும் பண்டங் காவலர் விளக்கமும்
எண்ணுவரம் பறியா இயைந்தொருங் கீண்டி
மலைப்பஃறாரமும் கடற்பஃறாரமும்
வளந்தலை மயங்கிய துளங்குகல விருக்கை."

இவ்வாறு, இயற்கையும் செயற்கையுமான பண்டங்களைக் கொண்டு வியாபாரஞ் செய்து பெரும் பொருள் படைக்கும் வணிகரைத் தமிழரசர் பெரிதும் அபிமானித்து வந்தனர். வாணிபத்தால் செல்வமும் புகழும் சிறக்கப் படைத்த வணிகர்க்கு, அரசன் "எட்டி" என்னும் அரும் பட்டமும் அதற் கடையாளமான பொற்பூ வொன்றும் அளித்து, அவரை ஊக்குதல் பண்டை மரபாக இருந்தது. மணிமேகலையில்,

"வாணிக மரபின் வருபொரு ளீட்டி
நீணிதிச் செல்வனாய் நீள்நில வேந்தனால்

எட்டிப் பூப்பெற்று இருமுப் பதின்யாண்டு
ஒட்டிய செல்வத்து உயர்ந்தோ னாயினன்."

என ஒரு வணிகன் இவ்வாறு புகழப் பட்டிருத்தல் காண்க.

இவ் வணிகர் தாம் படைத்த செல்வச் சிறப்புக் கேற்ப, இப்பர், கவிப்பர், பெருங்குடியர் என மூவகையின ராவர். இவர்களைப் பற்றிய வரலாறு, அடியில் வரும் ஜீவ ஸம்போதனைப் பாட்டால் விளங்கும்.

"இப்பர் கவிப்பர் பெருங்குடி வாணிகரென்
றொப்புடைய மூவ ருரைக்குங்காற்—றப்பில்
மிதியடியே ழானைமிசை நோக்கினர்கள் காணு
நிதியுடைய ராவர் நிலத்து."*

பழைய காலத்தே, தமிழ் மக்கள் கப்பல் செய் தொழிலினும் வல்லவரா யிருந்தனர். "கலஞ்செய் கம்மியர்" "கலம் புணர் மாக்கள்" என வரும் மணிமேகலைத் தொடர்களால் இஃது உணரப்படும். கப்பல்கள் நடுக்கடலிற் சென்று திரியுங் காலத்தே, திசை தடுமாறாது கரை சேர்தற்கு அநுகூலமாக, காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்தில் கலங்கரை விளக்கம் அமைக்கப் பட்டிருந்த தென்பது சிலப்பதிகாரத்துக் கடலாடு காதையிற் காணலாம். [கலம் கரை விளக்கம்-கப்பல்களை (கரைக்கு) அழைக்கும் விளக்கு. கரைதல்-அழைத்தல்.] சென்னை முதலிய பெரும் பட்டினங்களில் இக்காலத்து வைக்கப் பட்டுள்ள "லைட்-ஹௌஸ்" (Light-House) போன்றதே இவ் விளக்கமும். இதனால் பழையோரது நாகரீகம் இத்தன்மைத் தென்பது நன்கு விளங்கக் கூடியது.

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*இதன் உரை:—"இப்ப ராவார்.—பொன்னின் ராசியை நடுவே குவித்து யானைமேலேறிக் குடையிடை நின்றால் ஒருவரையொருவர் காணவொண்ணாத பொன் னிராசியை யுடையார்; கவிப்ப ராவார்.—அப்படியே விருஷபத்தின் மேலேறிக் குடையிடை நின்றால் ஒருவர் ஒருவரைக் காணவொண்ணாத பொன்னிராசியை உடையார். பெருங்குடி வணிக ராவார்.—மிதியடி மேலேறிக் குடையிடை நின்றால் ஒருவ ரொருவரைக் காணவொண்ணாத பொன் னிராசியை உடைய ராவார்."

இனி, உள் நாடுகளிலே, வியாபாரிகள் ஓரிடத்திருந்து மற்றோ ரிடத்துக்குத் தங்கள் பண்டங்களைக் கொண்டு செல்வதற்கு வேண்டிய சௌகரியங்கள் முற்காலத்தே அரசர்களால் அமைக்கப்பட் டிருந்தன. பெருங் காட்டு வழிகளிலே தக்க ஊர்களிற் காவற் படைகள் வைக்கப் பட்டு, வழிப் போக்கர்க்கும் வணிகர்க்கும் திருடர் முதலியவராற் சிறிதும் கேடு வாராதபடி பாது காக்கப் பட்டன என்றும், அப்படைகளின் செலவுக்காக, அவ்வவ் விடங்களிலே சுங்கச் சாலைகள் அரச ஞாணையால் அமைந்திருந்தன என்றும் முன்னூல்களால் விளங்குகின்றன. இவற்றை,

"நேரியற்-புணர்ப்பொறை தாங்கிய வடுவாழ் நோன்புறத்து
அணர்ச்செவிக் கழுதைச் சாத்தொடு வழங்கும்
உல்குடைப் பெருவழிக் கவலை காக்கும்
வில்லுடை வைப்பின் வியன் காட்டியவு" *

"அத்தஞ் செல்வோர் அலறத் தாக்கிக்
கைப்பொருள் வௌவும் களவேர் வாழ்க்கைக்
கொடியோ ரின்று அவன் கடியுடை வியன்புலம்" †

என வரும் பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை யடிகளால் உணர்க. இனிப் புகார் முதலிய பெருந் துறைமுகப் பட்டினங்களிலுள்ள பண்டசாலைகளின் சிறப்புக்கள் பட்டினப்பாலை முதலிய வற்றில் கூறப் படுவனவற்றைப் படிப்பவர்க்கு, இக்காலத்துப் பெருந் துறை

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* [பொருள்] மிளகினது ஒத்த கனத்தைத் தாங்கிய, வடு வழுந்திய வலியினை யுடைய முதுகினையும் எடுத்த செவியினையு முடைய கழுதையிலே மிளகெடுத்துக் கொண்டு போகும் கூட்டத்தோடே வியாபாரிகள் வழங்கும் பெரிய வழியில், சுங்கச் சாலைகளை யுடைய கவர் பட்ட பாதைகளைக் காத்திருக்கும விற்படை யிருக்கும் ஊர்களைக் கொண்ட அகன்ற காட்டு மார்க்கம்.-

† வழிச் செல்வோரை அவர் அலறும்படி வெட்டி அவர் கைப் பொருளை அபகரிக்குங் களவு ஜீவனமுடைய கொடியோர், அவனது காவலையுடைய அகன்ற நாட்டின்கண், இல்லை.

ழுகங்களின் பண்டசாலைச் சிறப்பினும் குறைந்தவைக ளல்ல வென்று தோன்றும் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை.

" நல்லிறைவன் பொருள் காக்கும்
தொல்லிசைத் தொழின் மாக்கள்
வைகல்தொறும் அசைவின்றி
* உல்குசெயக் குறைபடாது
வான்முகந்தநீர் மலைப்பொழியவும்
மலைப்பொழிந்தநீர் கடற்பரப்பவும்
மாரிசெய்யும் பருவம்போல
நீரினின்று நிலத்தேறவும்
நிலத்தினின்று நீர்ப்பரப்பவும்
அளந்தறியாப் பலபண்டம்
வரம்பறியாமை வந்தீண்டி
வலியுடை வல்லணங்கினோன்
† புலிபொறித்துப் புறம்போக்கி
மதிநிறைந்த மலிபண்டம்" (பட்டினப்பாலை).

இவ்வடிகள், காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினத்தில் சரக்குகள் ஏற்றுமதி இறக்குமதியாகும் அழகையும், அவற்றில் சோழவரசனது புலி முத்திரை யிட்டு எண்ணிச் சுங்கம் கொள்ளும் சிறப்பையும் எவ்வளவு நன்றாக விளக்கி நிற்கின்றன. இன்னும், இறக்குமதி யாகும் பண்டங்களில் முக்கியமானவை சில பின் வருவன வற்றால் விளங்கும்.

" நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்
காலின் வந்த கருங்கறி மூடையும்
வடமலைப் பிறந்த மணியும் பொன்னும்
குடமலைப் பிறந்த ஆரமும் அகிலும்
தென்கடன் முத்தும் குணகடற் றுகிரும்
கங்கை வாரியும் காவிரிப் பயனும்
‡ ஈழத் துணவும் § காழகத் தாக்கமும்
அரியவும் பெரியவும் நெளிய வீண்டி" (பட்டினப்பாலை).

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* சுங்கம் கொள்ள.

† பொதிகளில் சோழனது புலி முத்திரை யிட்டு வெளி யேற்றி.

‡ ஈழம் = இலங்கை.

§ காழகம் = பர்மா.

வியாபாரிகள், தாம் கொடுக்கல் வாங்கல் செய்யும் பண்டப் பொதிகளில், அவற்றின் நிறை, அளவு, எண் இவற்றை எழுதிச் சாலைகளில் அடுக்கி வைத்துப் பின்பு எடுத்துச் செல்வர். இவ்வுண்மை,

"வம்ப மாக்கள் தம்பெயர் பொறித்த
கண்ணெழுத்துப் படுத்த எண்ணுப் பலபொதி
கடைமுக வாயிலும் கருந்தாழ்க் காவலும்"

என்னுஞ் சிலப்பதிகார வடிகளில் காண்க. தமிழ் வியாபாரிகள் அக்காலத்து விளங்கிய பெருந்தன்மை பின் வருமாறு புகழப்பட்டுள்ளது.

"நெடுநுகத்துப் பகல்போல
நடுவுநின்ற நன்னெஞ்சினோர்
வடுவஞ்சி வாய்மொழிந்து
தமவும் பிறவும் ஒப்ப நாடி
கொள்வதூஉமிகைபடாது
கொடுப்பதூஉங் குறைபடாது
பல்பண்டம் பகர்ந்துவீசும்
தொல்கொண்டி துவன்றிருக்கை" (பட்டினப்பாலை)

எனக் கண்டுகொள்க. இவ்வியாபாரிகளில், கடற் கரையிலிருந்த அந்நிய வணிகர், தாம் தாம் விற்கும் பண்டங்கள் இன்னவையென்பதை ஒவ்வோர் அடையாளக் கொடிகளாற் குறிப்பித்து வந்தன ரென்பது,

"கலந்தரு திருவிற் புலம்பெயர் மாக்கள்
வேலை வாலுகத்து விரிதிரைப் பரப்பிற்
கூல மறுகிற் கொடியெடுத்து நுவலும்
மாலைச் சேரி".

என்னும் சிலப்பதிகாரத் தொடர்களால் விளங்கும்.

இனி, பண்டைத் தமிழ் மக்கள் தம் நாடு விட்டு அந்நிய நாடுகட்குச் சென்றும் பொருள் திரட்டி வந்தார்கள். சுமாத்ரா, ஜாவா, மலேயா முதலிய தீவங்களிலுந் தீவகற்பங்களிலும் முற்காலத்தே நம்மவர் குடியேறி அரசுமுறை நாட்டியும் வர்த்தகம் செய்தும் வந்த செய்தி மணிமேகலை நூலைத் துருவி யாராய்வார்க்குப் புலப்படத் தக்கது. அவற்றுள், சாவா என்பது

"சாவகநாடு" என இலக்கியத்துக் காணப்படும். அங்கே புண்ணிய ராஜன் என்பவன் நாகபுரி என்னும் நகரியை ராஜதானி யாகக் கொண்டு தர்மிஷ்டனாய் ஆண்டன னென்பதும் மணிமேகலை அவ் வரசனிடஞ் சென்று வந்ததும், பிற வரலாறும் நமக்குத் தெரிய வருகின்றன. இவற்றிற் கேற்ப, அந்நாடுகளில் நம் முன்னோர் முற் காலத்தே கட்டிய கோயில்களும் கட்டிடங்களும் அழிந்து கிடப்பவை இன்றும் காணப் படுகின்றன வென்றும், அங்கிருந்த விக்ரகங்கள், மேனாட்டு லீடன் நகர்ப் பொருட் காட்சிச் சாலையிலே இன்றும் உள்ளன என்றுங் கூறுவர்* "ஏறக் குறைய 2000-வருஷங்கட்கு முன் இந்தியரும் அவர் அரசரும் குடியேறி, மலேய தீப கற்பத்தின் தென் கோடி வரையிலும் ராஜாங்கம் வகித்து வந்தன ரென்பது தற்காலத்தில் அங்கே கிலமாகக் கிடக்கும் பாகான் (Pāgan) பட்டினத்தின் இடி பாடுகளை நோக்கு வர்ர்க்கு நன்கு விளங்கும்" என்று, அப் பிரதேசத்தே யுள்ள ஒரு தமிழ்ப் பத்திராசிரியர் கூறி யிருக்கின்றார்.

"மேலும், கீழ் நாடாகிய காம்போதியாவில் வெகு நூற்றாண்டு களுக்கு முன்னால் ஹிந்து அரசர்கள் அரசாட்சி செய்து வந்ததைக் காட்டும் சின்னங்களாக, அங்கே வெகு உன்னதமான அரண்மனைகளும், தேவாலயங்களும், ஹிந்து தேவதைகளின் பிரதிமைகளும் இப்போதும் காணப்படுகிற படியால், அவைகளைப் பார்க்கும் ஐரோப்பிய யாத்திரிகர்கள் மூக்கில் கை வைத்துத் திகைக்கிறார்களாம். அவ்வாறே ஜாவா என்ற பஸிபிக் கடல் தீவிலும் ஹிந்துக்களின் நாகரிகம் ஒரு காலத்தில் மேம்பாடுற் றிருந்ததற்கு அறி குறிகளான அனேக பாழான கட்டிடங்களும் கோயில்களும் காணப் படுகின்றன. இவ்வாறு ஒரு காலத்தில் ஹிந்துக்கள் ஊக்கப் பிரியர்களாய்க் கடல் கடந்து தூர தேசம் போய் ராஜாங்க ஸ்தாபனம் செய்தும், பிற்காலத்தில் தாய்த் தேசமாகிய இந்தியாவில் நேரிட்ட அநேக கேடுகளால், ஜனங்கள் ஊக்கமும் பேரெண்ணங்களு மிழந்து, தூர

* "செந்தமிழ்"—தொகுதி 5, பக்கம் 160.

தேசம் சென்றிருந்த தம் இனத்தாரை யாதரிக்காமல் கைவிட்டு விடவே, அங்கு மகமதியர்கள் ஆக்கிரமித்து ஆரிய நாகரீகத்தை இருந்த விடந் தெரியாம லழித்து விட்டார்கள்." ‡

இவ்வாறு, பண்டைக் காலத்தே, தமிழ் மக்களது ஊக்கமும் உழைப்பும் பல வழிகளிலுஞ் சென்று பயனளித்து வந்தன. காலகதி யாரையும் விடாதாகலின், அவரது பழைய உந்நத நிலை பிற் காலத்தே தாழ்ந்துவிட லாயிற்று. நம் நாட்டுத் தொழில் வியாபாரங்கள் நசித்துப் போனதற்குப் பல காரணங்க ளுண் டாயினும், முக்கியமான தோன்றுவது:—தேசாபி விர்த்திக்கு இன்றி யமையாத தொழிற் றுறைகளை, அவ்வளவு கூரிய வறிவு மாற்றலு மில்லாச் சில வகுப்பினர்க் குரியவாக ஒழித்தமையால், அப் பழைய தொழிற் றுறைகள் காலத்துக் கேற்ற திருத்தங் களும் பெருமையும் பெற வியலாது, பழைய நிலைமையிலே நிற் பனவாயின—என்று மகா நிபுணரும் தேசாபி மானியுமான மகாராஜ ரொருவர் சமீபத்தே அபிப்பிராயப் பட்டனர். இக் கருத்து உண்மையிற் றிட்ப நுட்ப முடையதே யாம். பண்டு முதலே நல் லறிஞ ரெல்லாம் தொழிற் றுறைகளில் கவலை செலு த்தி வந்திருப்பாராயின், ஏனைய துறைகளில் அவரால் உண் டான பெருமைகள் கைத் தொழிற் கண்ணும் சென்றிருக்கு மென்பதில் ஐய மில்லை. முன்னுளில் நல்லறிஞர்கள் யந்திர தந்திரங்களிலே தம் கவலையைச் செலுத்தி வந்ததா லன்றோ, எத்தனையோ அருமையான யந்திரங்களும் ராஜ தந்திரங்களும் பழைய சங்க நூல்களிலும் பிறவற்றிலும் காணப் படுகின்றன. "நிறைக்குறி னிறைத்துப் போக் குறிற் போக்கும், பொறிப் படை யமைந்த பொங்கில வந்திகை" என்னும் யந்திர வாவியும், சிலப்பதிகாரத்து அடைக்கலக் காதையிற் கூறப்படும்,

"வளைவிற் பொறியும், கருவிர லூகமும் கல்லுமிழ் கவணும்
பரிவுறு வெந்நெயும் பாகடு குழிசியும்
காய்பொன் னுலையும் கல்லிடு கூடையும்
தூண்டிலுந் தொடக்குமு ஆண்டலை யடுப்பும்

‡ ஸ்ரீ ஜி. சுப்பிரமணிய ஐயரவர்களது "ஜப்பான் சரித்திரம்"— முகவுரை.

கவையும் கழுவும் புதையும் புழையும்
ஐயவித் துலாமும் கைபெய லூசியும்
சென்றெறி சிரலும் பன்றியும் பணையும்
எழுவுஞ் சீப்பு முழுவிறற் கணையமும்
கோலுங் குந்தமும் வேலும் பிறவும்" என்று—

அக்காலத் துபயோகப்பட்ட யந்திர ஆயுதங்களின் வகைகளும் பூர்வீகரது யந்திரஞ் செய்யுந் திறமையை நன்கு காட்டுவன வாகும். இவ் யந்திரங்களின் பொருள்கள் அவ்வடிகளின் உரையிற் கண்டு களிக்கத் தக்கன. இவ்வாறே, முற் காலத்து வழங்கிய யந்திர ஆயுத விசேஷங்கள், சிந்தாமணி நாமகளிலம்பகம் 72—75-ம் பாடல்களிலும் மிகுதியாகக் காணப்படும். இவ்வாறு வழங்கியவைக ளெல்லாம், விர்த்திமுகங் காட்டாமற் போயினும், இறந்து போகாமலேனும் நம் காலத்தில் இருத்தலாகாவோ? நாம் வர வர அறிவாற்றல்கள் குறைந்தவராகி நம் முன்னோர்கள் வைத்த பெருமையைக் காப்பாற்றாது கெட்டோம். அதனால் நம் தேசம் சிறுமைப் பட்டது. ஆயினும், "வறுமை" என்பது, ஒரு ஜன சமூகத்தை நெடுங் காலம் கண்ணை மூடிக்கொண்டு தூங்கும்படி விடாதன்றோ! கைத்தொழில் வியாபாரங்களால் தமக்கு நேர்ந்துள்ள குறைகளையும், அதனால் தம் வறுமை அதிகப்பட்டு தேசம் க்ஷீண நிலை யடைதலையும் நம்மவ ரெல்லாம் அறியத் தொடங்கி விட்டார்கள். ஆதலால், உயர் வகுப்பா ருள்பட யாவரும் தொழிற் றுறை வியாபாரத் துறைகளில் விருப்பத்துடன் புகுங் காலமும் நெருங்குகின்ற தென்னலாம். இங்ஙனமாயின், இந்தியாவின் வருங் காலம் பழைமை போலவே சீருஞ் சிறப்பும் பெற்றிருக்கு மென்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. முற் காலத்தே விளங்கிய தெய்வப் புலவராகிய திருவள்ளுவரினும் சீரிய அறிஞர் உளரோ? அப் புலவர் பெருமானே தம் ஜீவனோபாயத்துக்காக மேற்கொண்ட விர்த்தி நெய்தற் றொழில் என்றால், கைத் தொழிலைப் பற்றி நம் முன்னோர் கொண்டிருந்த எண்ணம் எவ்வள வுயர்ந்த தாகும்? "செய்யுந் தொழி லெல்லாஞ் சேர எடுத்துரைக்கின், நெய்யுந் தொழிற்கு நிகராகா" என்பதே அத் தெய்வப்புலவர் திருவுள்ள

மாம். அவர் நெய்தற் றொழில் செய்து வந்தவ ரென்பது "இழை நக்கி நூல்நெருடும் ஏழை யறிவேனோ, குழை நக்கும் பிஞ்ஞகன் றன் கூத்து"—என வழங்கும் அவர் பாடற் பகுதி யால் அறிக. இப் புலவர் பெருமானைப் போலவே, முற் காலத் தே, கைத் தொழில் வியாபாரப் பெருமைகளை நன்குணர்ந்து அவற்றையே தம் விர்த்தியாகக் கொண்டு வந்த நல்லிசைப் புல வர்கள் பலர் உளர். மணிமேகலை யாசிரியரான சீத்தலைச் சாத் தனார் நெல்லு புல்லு வரகு முதலிய தானியங்களை விற்று வந்த கூல வியாபாரியாவர். அறுவை வாணிகன் இள வேட்டனார் என்னும் மற்றொரு புலவர் துணி வியாபாரி. (அறுவை-துணி) உறையூர் மருத்துவன் தாமோதரனார் என்பவர் வைத்தியர். மதுரைப் பண்ட வாணிகன் இளநத்தத்தனார் என்பவர் பல சரக்கு வியாபாரஞ் செய்தவர். மதுரை வெண்ணாகனார் என்ப வர் பொன் செய் கொல்லர். இவ ரன்றி மதுரைப் பெருங் கொல்லனார், உறையூர் இளம்பொன் வாணிகன் சாத்தங் கொற் றனார் முதலிய புலவர் பெயர்களும் மேற்கூறிய விஷயத்தைத் தெளிவாக்கும். இவ்வாறு, தாங் கொண்ட தொழில்களாற் சிறப்புப் பெயர் பெற்று விளங்கினர் முன்னையோ ரெனின், கைத் தொழிலைப் பற்றிய அவர் மதிப்பு இத்தகைத் தென் பது விளங்கு மன்றோ. இடைக் காலத்தில், கைத் தொழிற் பெருமையை அறிஞர்கள் அறியாது கை நெகிழ விட்டமை யாலேயே, நம் தேசம் உண்டு உடுப்பதற்கும் கண்டு களிப்ப தற்கும் பெருக்கி மெழுகுவதற்கும் ஊர்ந்து உலாவுவதற்கும் அந்நியக் கைத் தொழிற் பொருள்களையே எதிர் பார்க்கும் படி நேர்ந்து விட்டது. இவ்வாறு அந்நியக் கைத் தொழிற் வியாபாரிகட்கு நாம் அடிமைப் பட்டிருப்பதை நிவர்த்தித்து, உலகத்து நாகரீக மக்கள்முன் நம்மைக் காட்டிக் கொள்ள வேண்டு மாயின், எல்லா மேல்வகுப்பாரும் நல்லறிஞரும் நாக ரீகம் படைத்த பிரபுக்களும் தேச விர்த்திக்கு இன்றி யமை யாத தொழிற் றுறைகளிற் புகுவது ஆவசியக மாகும். இத் தேசத்துள்ள எல்லாரும் தமக்குள்ள அற்ப வேற்றுமைகளை அறவே யொழித்து, "தேச நன்மை" என்னும் பொது நோக்

கத்துக்காக, தம் சக்திகளை யெல்லாம் ஒருங்கு திரட்டி ஒற்றுமையுடன் உழைத்து வந்தால், நினைத்த எண்ணங்கள் யாவும் எளிதின் முற்றுப் பெறுதல் திண்ணம். உண்மையான சுதேசிய உணர்ச்சி நம் நாட்டிலுண்டான சில வருஷங்களுள், நம் தேசத்தார் அடைந்திருக்கும் எண்ணிறந்த நன்மைகளே இதற்குத் தக்க சான்றாம்.

"ஆககம் அதர்வினுய்ச் செல்லும் அசைவிலா
ஊக்க முடையா னுழை"

"ஊழையும் உப்பக்கம் காண்பர் உலைவின்றித்
தாழாது உஞற்று பவர்"

என்பவை பொய்யா மொழிகளன்றோ. "எல்லாம் பொருளிற் பிறந்துவிடும்" என்பது முதுமொழி யாதலின், அப் 'பொருளிலார்க்கு இவ்வுலக சுகமுமில்லை' யென்பது திண்ணம். உலக சுக மன்றி மறுமை யின்பமுங்கூட, அப்பொரு ளில்லையேல் எளிதிற் பெற இயலா தென்பது மேலோர் திருவுள்ள மாகும்.

"அருளென்னும் அன்பீன் குழவி பொருளென்னும்
செல்வச் செவிலியா லுண்டு"

என, மறுமைக்குரிய அருள் வளர்ச்சிக்கு இம்மைக்குரிய பொருளைக் காரணமாகக் கூறுதலால் என்க. இது பற்றியே, "ஆராயிற் றானே அறம் பொரு ளின்ப மென்று, ஆரா ரிவற்றி னிடையதனை யெய்துவார், சீராரிருதலையு மெய்துவர்" எனவும் "முனிவரு மன்னரு முன்னுவ பொன்னான் முடியும்" எனவும் திருமொழிகள் பிறந்தன. உலகத்துள்ள செல்வப் பெருக்குடைய தேசங்கள் "குன்றேறி யானைப்போர் கண்டற்றால் தன்கைத் தொன், றுண்டாகச் செய்வான் வினை" என்றபடி, எந்த அருமையான காரியத்தையும் சாதிக்க வல்லன. இதற்கு மேனுடுகளே போதிய சான்றாகும். பொருள் வருவா யின்றி ஏழைமையுற்ற நாடோ எத்தனை ஞானவலியைப் பழங்கால முதலே பெற்றிருப்பினும், அஞ் ஞானம் பெரும்பாலும் போலியாகி அஞ்ஞானமாக முடிதலும் கூடும். என்னை? இம்மை யின்பத்துள்ளழுற்று, அநுபவித்துக் கழிதற்கு இடமின்றாதலால். ஆக

வே உலக வாழ்வுக்கு இன்றி யமையாத பொருணிலையின் தத்துவத்தைச் செவ்வனே யுணர்ந்து போற்றுதல் ஒவ்வொரு தேசத்தாருடைய கடனுமாம். அதிலும் இந்தியா தேசத்தின் நிலைமைக்கு அது மிகவும் வேண்டற் பாலதெனக் கூறவும் வேண்டுமோ! ஆதலால், நம்மவ ரொவ் வொருவரும் கைத் தொழில் வியாபார முயற்சியைத் தத்தம் அறிவாற்றல்களுக்கு ஏற்றவளவு கொண்டு செலுத்துதல் தேசத்தின் பெரு நன்மைக் குக் காரணமாகும்.

"உள்ளுவ தெல்லாம் உயர்வுள்ளல் மற்றது
தள்ளினும் தள்ளாமை நீர்த்து"

என்னும் அருமைத் திரு வாக்குப் படி, நம்முடைய எண்ணங் களும் கர்மங்களும் மேன்மை யுடையன வாகுக. நம் முயற்சி ஒருகால் தவறினும், அது பய னளித்தற் குரியதே யாகும். கைத் தொழில் வியாபார முதலிய துறைகளில் நிகரற்ற அறி வும் அநுபவமும் வாய்ந்து, நமக்கு அநுகூலர்களா யுள்ள அந் நியரிடம் மதிப்பும் அபிமானமும் காட்டி, அவரை யொட்டியும் நம் பெருமைகளை முற் படுத்த முயல வேண்டும். உலக விய லறியாத பலர் கருத்தில் அந்நிய நாட்டா ரெல்லாம் அநாகரிகத் தன்மை வாய்ந்தவர் என்னும் எண்ணம் சில காலமாக இருந்த தாயினும், இப்போது, அவர்கள் உலகியல் விஷயங்களில் பெரி தும் உயர்ந்தவ ரென்றும், அன்னாரிட மிருந்து நாம் கற்றுக் கொள்ளற் குரியவை எத்தனையோ உள்ளன வென்றும் நம்மவர் மனதில் உதித்து வருகின்றன.

வான சாஸ்திரத்தில் உலகத்தே ஒப் புயர் வற்று விளங் கிய வரும் இற்றைக்கு 2000-வருஷங்களுக்கு முற் பட்ட வருமான **கர்க்காசாரியர்** மேல் நாட்டு அறிஞரைப் பற்றிக் கூறுவ தாவது:—"யவனர்கள் மிலேச்சர்களே; ஆனால் அவர் கட் குள்ளே இந்த சாஸ்திரம் (வான சாஸ்திரம்) அநுபவ சித்தமாக நிலை பெற்றுள்ளது; ஆதலால் பிராமண ஜோதிஷ்கரி னும் அவர்கள் ருஷிகளாக மிகுதியும் மதிக்கப் படுகிறார்கள்"*

* Civilisation in Ancient India, Part II, Page 120.

என்பது. இதனால், முற் காலத்தில் அறிவு அநுபவ மிக்க மேல் நாட்டார்களை ஆரிய மக்கள் எவ்வளவு மேலாக மானித்திருக்கிறார்க ளென்பது விளங்கும். இத்தகைய விரிந்த சிந்தையும் தேசாபிமானமும் கொண்டு, "உடைத்தம் வலியறியார் ஊக்கத்தி னூக்கி, இடைக் கண் முரிந்தார் பலர்" என்றவாறில்லாமல், தளராத உறுதியுடன் நின்று நல்லறிஞர்கள் நம்மவர்க்கு வழிகாட்ட முயல்வா ராயின் யாவரும் அவ் வழியையே பின்பற்றி நல் வாழ்வு பெறுவர் என்பது திண்ணம். அப்போது; பாரத க்ஷேத்திரம், "உழவு தொழிலே வரைவு வாணிபம் வித்யா சிற்ப" மென்னும் ஷட் கர்மங்களும் நிரம்பிக் "கர்ம பூமி" என்னும் பழம் பெயரோடு நிலை பெற்று விளங்கத் தடையு மில்லை. ஆதலால், அறிஞர்காள்! தென் னாட்டு ஞான பரிபூர்ண ரான பெரியார் திருவாய் மொழியால் யான் கூறி முடிப்ப தாவது :—

"வம்மின் புலவீர்! நும் மெய்வருத்திக் கைசெய்து உய்மினோ"

—(திருவாய்மொழி.)